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THE WORKS

OF

JOHN KNOX;

COLLECTED AND EDITED

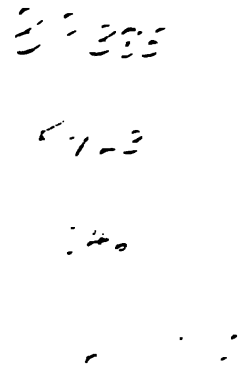
BY DAVID LAING.

VOLUME SIXTH.—PART SECOND.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

MDCCCLXIV.



Ad Scotos transeuntibus Primus occurrit Magnus ille JOANNES CNOXUS; quem si Scotorum in verbo Dei cultu instaurando, velut Apostolum quendam dixero, dixisse me quod res est existimabo.

THEOD. BEZA.

THE

BOOK OF COMMON ORDER:

OR THE FORM OF PRAYERS,

AND MINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, ETC.,

APPROVED AND RECEIVED

BY THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

M.D.LXIV.

So much importance in modern times is attached to Liturgical services, that it becomes desirable to ascertain the Forms of Worship which were adopted in Scotland at the period of the Reformation. In the Fourth Volume of this series, there is already given an accurate republication of "The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, etc., used in the English Congregation at Geneva," from the original edition of 1556. Knox was then minister of that congregation. The same Forms, with various additions, including Calvin's Catechism, and the Psalms in English metre, were approved and received by the Church of Scotland, in 1564, and the copies usually pass under the name of KNOX'S PSALMS AND LITURGY. A more suitable title is that by which it was generally known in early times, and which I have accordingly adopted, THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER.

During the last, as well as the present century, it has been maintained by some Episcopalian writers that the English BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER was at first adopted by our Reformers. A passage in a letter from Kirkaldy of Grange, dated 1st of July 1559, has been quoted in proof of this. The letter itself is contained in the present volume.[1] The words, in modern orthography, are these:—"As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that mass shall not be said in them; in place whereof *the Book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches.*" Sir William Cecill, in writing to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, is somewhat more explicit, when mentioning the Protestants of

[1] *Supra*, p. 34.

Scotland, he says, "The parish churches they deliver, of altars and images, and *have received the Service of the Church of England*, according to King Edward's Booke."[1] As his letter is dated the 9th of that month, or eight days after Kirkaldy's, which had been transmitted to him, he probably was possessed of no other information on the subject.

At a still earlier period, indeed, it is related both by Knox[2] and Calderwood,[3] that the Lords and Barons professing Christ Jesus, after having signed "The godly Band" for their mutual defence, in December 1557, assumed the name by which they continued to be known as THE CONGREGATION; and that having convened frequently in council, "they agreed upon two heads, first, *That the Common Prayers be read in the parish churches on the Sonday, with the Lessons of the New and Old Testament, conform to the ordour of the Book of Common Prayers;* and, secondly, That doctrine, preaching and interpretation of Scriptures, be had and used privatelie in quiet houses, until authority was obtained from the Prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers."[4] Such arrangements, however, were merely prospective, to suit the exigencies of the times; and if we admit that the English Liturgy was actually adopted, it could have only been to a partial extent, and of no long continuance. But this, after all, is a question of very little importance, although it has been keenly disputed; for it is well to remember, that at this period there were no settled parish churches, and as there were no special congregations either in Edinburgh, or in any of the principal towns throughout the country, no ministers had been appointed. The Lords of the Congregation and their adherents were much too seriously concerned in defending themselves from the Queen Regent and her French auxiliaries, and more intent for that purpose in endeavouring to obtain the necessary aid from England, than

[1] Forbes's State Papers, vol. i. p. 155.
[2] Vol. i. p. 275.
[3] History, vol. i. p. 328.
[4] Vol. i. p. 275.

to be at all concerned about points of ritual observances. In the following year, when the French troops were expelled from Scotland, and the Protestant cause was ultimately triumphant, we may conjecture, that, in some measure swayed by the avowed dislike of Knox to the English service-book (as expressed in his letter to Mrs. Lock in April 1559),[1] the preference was given to the Forms of Geneva. We hear at least no more word of the English Prayer-book; and in the Book of Discipline prepared in December 1560, the only form mentioned is *Our Buke of Common Ordour*,[2] and "The Buke of our Common Ordour, callit the Ordour of Geneva." At the meeting of the General Assembly, held on the last day of December 1562, is this Act: "It is concludit that ane uniforme Ordour salbe takin and keipit in the Administratioun of the Sacraments, and Solemnization of Marriages, and Buriale of the Dead, according to the Booke of Geneva."[3] On referring to vol. iv. page 155, there will be found a facsimile title-page of an edition printed at Edinburgh in the year 1562 (perhaps 1562-3), which shows its actual use at that time.

It was, however, found desirable to have the Book of Common Order enlarged, and the metrical version of the Psalms completed and reprinted in this country. No mention is made in the existing Acts of the General Assembly of the persons to whom this task was assigned, but aid had been given to the Printer for completing the volume, and at the General Assembly, on the 26th of December 1564, "It was ordained that Minister, Exhorter, and Reader, sall have one of the Psalme Bookes latelie printed in Edinburgh, *and use the Order contained therein in Prayers, Marriage, and ministration of the Sacraments.*"[4]

In printing the Book of Common Order, I have followed the edition of 1565 (which is identically the same with a copy

[1] *Supra*, vol. ii. p. 239.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 210.
[3] The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. p. 30.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 54.

dated 1564), collating it with the earliest existing editions, of which facsimile titles, with the list of contents, are added. That this volume may not have been completed till the early part of 1565, is highly probable. In the Privy Seal Register, there is a letter of license by Queen Mary, by which, for encouraging "all sic works and volumes as tendis to the glorie of God," Lekprevik, along with the privilege of imprinting the Acts of Parliament, was authorized "TO IMPRENT ALSWA THE PSALMES OF DAVID in Scottis metir, during the space of seven zeiris eftir the dait of these presents . . . at Edinburgh, the xxij day of Marche 1564 (1564-5)."[1] But I have not thought it necessary to insert the kalendar, or to repeat such portions as are already given in the Fourth Volume. In regard to the scarcity of these early editions, I may notice, that the only known copy bearing the date 1564, is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The copy in St. John's College, Cambridge, has the date 1565; and other two perfect copies are in private collections. In all the copies the date 1564 occurs on the title-page of the Catechism. The little volume dated 1566, I found among Bishop Kennet's books in the Cathedral Library, Peterborough. It seemed a most unaccountable edition, in its having the title, table, and kalendar, with Stewart's Sonnet,[2] reprinted *verbatim* from the Edinburgh edition 1565, while the volume itself did not correspond with the table of contents, and the Psalms were evidently printed at two different times. A subsequent examination of a similar volume, printed at Geneva in 1561, in the Cathedral Library of St. Paul's, London, enabled me to ascertain that these were one and the same edition; the separate title-pages to the Prayers, Psalms, and Catechism having the date 1561 being cancelled, and, as already stated, the preliminary leaves reprinted from the Edinburgh edition of 1565, while the Psalms, in addition to the "Fourscore and Seven," printed in 1561, were supplied from the

[1] Reg. Secr. Sigilli, vol. xxxiii. fol. 19. [2] See this, *infra*, p. 286.

English version of Sternhold and Hopkins, as it first appeared in a complete form at London in 1562.

An edition was printed at Edinburgh in 1568 by Thomas Bassandyne, which, containing some objectionable or irrelevant additions, was ordered by the General Assembly to be suppressed, and no copy has been discovered. Of the edition which came from his press in 1575, no complete copy is known. I have one with the Psalms entire, but wanting several leaves of the Prayers and Catechism. On the other hand, a perfect copy of the Prayers and Catechism, but wanting the Psalms, is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[1] Of the numerous subsequent editions, those most worthy of notice are,—London, Thomas Vautrollier, 1587, small 8vo; Middleburgh, Richard Schilders, 1594, and again 1602, small 8vo; Edinburgh, Henry Charteris, 1596, 12mo; Edinburgh, Robert Smyth, 1599, 12mo, without the tunes; also those printed at Edinburgh by Andro Hart, 1611, and again in 1615, small 8vo; and by the Heires of Andro Hart, 1635, small 8vo.

In reference to the *Book of Common Order*, it may be remarked that there was this marked difference in its use when compared with the *Book of Common Prayer*, that while the latter was in England prescribed as a ritual which admitted of no change, the other in Scotland was enjoined to be used chiefly as a guide or directory. Thus, in some of the rubrics, it is distinctly stated that "the minister was not expected to repeat these things, but he had the option, after closing his sermon, either to use these prayers, or to pray in the Spirit if God shall move his heart, framing the same according to the time and matter which he hath intreated of."

This "Liturgy," as it is usually called, with various omissions

[1] Another copy with the general title, Kalendar, and Psalms (but wanting all the Prayers and Catechism), was in the library of George Chalmers, sold by auction in 1842.

or alterations, continued to be republished at Edinburgh and Aberdeen till the years 1640 or 1643. In England some attempt had apparently been made to introduce the Geneva Form, as it was reprinted (but without the Psalms or Catechism), and "Humbly presented to the most High Court of Parliament," London, 1641. Other two editions appeared in 1643. A reprint of this English text is included, by the Rev. Peter Hall, in his valuable and most carefully edited series, entitled "Reliquiæ Liturgicæ;" Bath, 1847, 5 vols. 18mo. The adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant, in both countries, led to a much more extensive alteration in worship and discipline, when the old forms were entirely superseded by the Confession, Catechisms, and Directories, prepared by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and received by the Church of Scotland.

In recent times, a few solitary instances occur of an attempt to revive these early Forms of Worship and Discipline. In the year 1831, the Rev. Edward Irving published an edition of "The Confessions of Faith, and the Books of Discipline of the Church of Scotland, of date anterior to the Westminster Confession;" Lond. 1831, 12mo. To this volume there is prefixed a very able "Historical View of the Church of Scotland," and a Preface, with remarks, in which he eulogizes the older Confessions and Forms. He has not included the Book of Common Order, but while describing its contents, he says, "Our Reformers were of opinion there should be daily service in the Church either for sermon or common prayers; with some exercise of reading the Scriptures, . . . the Lord's Supper was to be administered at the least four times in the year; public examination was to be had annually of the knowledge of every person in the church; and a regular treatise of Fasting for the Church was prepared by the General Assembly; and many other things which I cannot particularize, all of them betokening the life of the Church, as our present condition betokens her nighness unto death." The connexion of this noble-minded

but misguided man with his mother Church had probably ceased before he introduced such Forms into his congregation of the Scottish National Church in London.

Nine years later, the Rev. Dr. Cumming of London also republished what he calls "The Liturgy of the Church of Scotland, or John Knox's Book of Common Order," Lond. 1840. 12mo. In his Preface he advocates the revival or adoption of such Forms, and says, "I have no hesitation in observing, that we have a Liturgy little less beautiful and impressive than that of England, long used by the devout congregations of our National Church, never interdicted, and not only worth resumption, but in all respects calculated to improve our service. It may also be observed of this venerable form, that it presents at once liberty and assistance. 'Or in such like words,' is appended to many of its forms. When the preacher feels that he can pour out his heart in extemporaneous prayer, it gives him this power; but when he feels as most men occasionally feel, it presents beautiful and expressive formulæ."

In no instance do we find Knox himself using set forms of prayer; but that this Book was sanctioned, if not partly prepared by him, is undeniable. The Presbyterian forms of worship were totally unlike those of the English Church, by endeavouring to adhere more closely to Scripture, and to avoid anything approaching to Popish ceremonial worship. Thus there was not only this freedom of extemporary prayer to which Dr. Cumming alludes, but there was neither kneeling during prayer, nor while receiving the Sacrament; there were no responses or collects for particular days; the frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer was avoided, and the Litany and the use of the Creed rejected. Congregational singing also was universally adopted; in place of the chanting, and the choral anthems, and instrumental music retained in the English service.

But the use of the Book of Common Order, so far as the liturgical part was concerned, had fallen into desuetude long

before the time of the Westminster Assembly. When Archbishop Laud's Prayer-Book, as it is called, was prepared, and printed in 1637, and was so unanimously rejected, among "Reasons for which the Service Booke urged upon Scotland ought to bee refused," it is stated (and the words may be applicable to all congregational innovations at the present day),— "Though a prescript forme of Liturgie were lawfull, yet there is no warrand for imposing of one: for, might not able ministers (at least) make a prescript forme to themselves, which would fit them and their people best? But if it were lawfull to impose one, then *there is one in this countrie alreadv.* Ought not that rather be imposed, then any other, seeing it is already established by Parlament, now of a long time? But now, if a new one ought to be imposed, then *it ought to come in by a lawfull manner:* by a Generall Assemblie and men chosen to make it that are knowne to have the gift of prayer themselves," etc.

It has already been noticed, that the numerous editions of "The Forme of Prayers," etc., are usually accompanied with a metrical version of the Psalms, and a translation of Calvin's Catechism. To have reprinted these, a separate volume would have been required; but although sanctioned by Knox, they cannot be considered as forming any part of the Reformer's works. For the benefit of the Highland population, a translation of "The Forme of Prayers," etc., into Gaelic, by John Carswell, afterwards Bishop of the Isles, was printed at Edinburgh in 1567.[1] The Catechism was also translated by Carswell, but we have no indication of its having been printed earlier than the year 1631; and if any Gaelic Psalms were used in public worship, no traces of such have been discovered, until a translation of the first fifty Psalms, from the present English version, was published by the Synod of Argyll in 1650.

[1] See Wodrow Miscellany, vol. i. (all ever published) p. 283.

It may, however, serve to gratify the reader's curiosity, by giving a few specimens of the old version of the Psalms from "Knox's Psalms and Liturgy." This version, it is well known, was made by various persons, between the years 1548 and 1564. To a considerable extent it is the same with that of Sternhold and Hopkins received in England when it was completed and printed in 1562. Without referring to the earlier editions of those translated by Thomas Sternhold, it is sufficient to mention that fifty-one Psalms were printed at Geneva in 1556, that the number was increased to eighty-seven in 1561,[1] and to one hundred and fifty in 1564. Of this full number, one hundred and nine, chiefly by Sternhold, Hopkins, Whittingham, and Kethe, are common with the English text. The forty-one Psalms peculiar to the Scottish editions consist of fifteen additional by William Kethe, other four by Whittingham, one by John Pulleyn, with six by Robert Pont, and fifteen by "I. C.," usually assigned to John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, but for which there is no early authority.[2]

The Psalms selected may serve as a specimen of these translators, and of the tunes to which the Psalms were set. Two of these, both words and music, have continued in use in our churches to the present day. The one, the Old Hundred, is universally known; while the other, the Old 124th, has an historical interest from an incident that happened on the 4th of September 1582, when the people of Edinburgh, to celebrate the return of one of the ministers who had been banished by a political faction, met him, and forming a procession in the High Street of Edinburgh, to the number of two or three thousand, they sung in harmony, this Psalm,—"Now Israel may say."[3] It is singular, however, that the tunes in nearly all the edi-

[1] There were two if not three distinct editions of these eighty-seven Psalms printed in the year 1561.

[2] See Notices, etc., in Appendix to Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. iii. pp. 525, etc.

[3] Calderwood's History, vol. ii. p. 646.

tions, are only the *air* or *tenor* part, with the exception of that printed at Edinburgh in 1635. Many of these tunes are copied from the French Psalter of Marot and Beza, used in the French Protestant churches, and, like the English version, it was completed progressively between the years 1546 and 1562.

It has hitherto escaped notice that two or three of the early editions of the Psalms printed at Edinburgh, adopted the Scottish dialect, although on the title-page the words "in English metre" are retained. A few specimens are given to show the difference of orthography.[1]

[1] From a black-letter edition, wanting the title-page, but apparently printed at Edinburgh, not later than the year 1578.

THE FORME OF PRAYERS AND MINISTRATION OF THE SACRAments &c. vſed in the Engliſh Church at Geneua, approued and receiued by the Churche of Scotland, whereunto beſydes that was in the former bokes, are alſo added ſondrie other prayers, with the whole Pſalmes of Dauid in Engliſh meter.

The contents of this boke are conteined in the page following.

I. CORINTH. III.
No man can lay any other fundation, then that which is laid, euen Chriſt Ieſus.

PRINTED AT EDINBVRGH
BY ROBERT LEKPREVIK.

M. D. LXV.

THE CONTENTS OF THE BOKE.

1 A kallender with an Almanack for 12. yeres.
2 The Confeſsion of the Chriſtian Faith.
3 The order of Electing Miniſters Elders and deacons.
4 The aſſembly of the Miniſterie euerie thurſday.
5 An order for interpretation of the Scriptures and anſwesing of doutes, obſerued one day in the weke.
6 A Confeſsion of our ſinnes vſed before the Sermon.
7 Another Confeſsion vſed in the Church of Edinburgh.
8 A Confeſsion vſed in tyme of extreame trouble.
9 A general prayer after the Sermō for the whole ſtate of Chriſts church.
10 Other ſortes of prayers to be vſed after the Sermon, the Sonday and day of publick prayer.
11 Prayers vſed in the tyme of perſecution by the Frenchemen & when the Lordes Table is miniſtred.
12 A thankeſgiuing for our deliuerance, with prayers for continuance of peace.
13 A prayer vſed at general and perticuler aſſemblies.
14 The Miniſtration of Baptiſme and the Lordes Supper.
15 The forme of Mariage, the viſitation of the Sicke, with a prayer for the Sicke, and the maner of Buryall.
16 An order of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline.
17 The 150. Pſalmes of Dauid in meter.
18 The Cathechiſme of M. Caluin.
19 A brief examination of Children before they be admitted to the lords Table.
20 Sundrie ſortes of prayers.
21 A prayer for Scollers.
22 A prayer for labourers.

In small 8vo, Roman letter, containing (1.) twelve introductory leaves, and signatures A to H, 4 in eights, pp. 117. (2.) Psalms, signatures a to z, and A to F in eights, pp. 460, besides four leaves of Tables. (3.) Catechism, signatures A to L, 6 in eights.

THE FORME OF PRAYERS AND MINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, &c. vſed in the Engliſh Chruch at Geneua, approued and receyued by the Chruche of Scotland. Whereunto beſydes that was in the former bokes, are alſo added ſondrye other prayers, wyth the whole Pſalmes of Dauid in Engliſh meter.

THE CONTENTS OF
this boke are conteined in
the page following.

I. CORINT. III.

No man can lay any other fundacion, then
that which is laid, euen Chriſt Ieſus.

Imprimé, pour Henri le Mareſchal.

M. D. LXVI.

In 16mo, contains twelve preliminary leaves, (1.) signatures A 2 to G 2. (2.) Catechism A to N. (3.) Psalms A 2 to N n, in eights. "The Contents of this boke" are the same as on the opposite page, but they do not correspond with the book itself. See page 280.

THE

FORME OF PRAYERS AND MINISTRATION OF THE SAcramẽts, &c. [v]ſed in the Engliſh Church at Geneua, and approued by the famous and godlie learned man, John Caluin. Vvereunto are alſo added the prayers which thei vſe there in the French Church:

Vvith

the Confeſſion of Faith vvhich al then make that are receiued into the Vniverſitie of Geneua.

The contents of this boke are conteined in the page following.

I. CORINTH. III.

No man can laye any other fundation, then that which is laid, euen Chriſt Ieſus.

PRINTED AT GENEVA
BY ZACHARIE DVRAND.
M. D. LXI.

In 16mo, contains (1.) signatures A to G 2, in eights. (2.) Psalms with separate title, dated M. D. LXI., signatures A to Y, in eights. (3.) Catechism, also with separate title, dated M.D.LXI., signatures A to N 7, in eights. "The contents of this boke" correspond very much with the similar Tables, vol. iv. pp. 154-156.

THE CL.

PSALMES OF DAVID IN EN-gliſh metre.

WITH THE FORME OF

Prayers, and Miniſtration of the Sacraments &c. vſed in the Churche of Scotland. Whereunto beſydes that was in the former bookes, are added alſo ſundrie other Prayers, with a newe & exact Kallender for XVI. yeres next to come.

¶ The contentis of this Booke are ſpecified in the page following after the declaration of the Almanak.

Printed at Edinburgh by Thomas Baſſandine dwelling at the nether Bow. 1575.
CVM PRIVILEGIO.

THE CONTENTES OF THE BOKE.

Veni Creator Spiritus.
The Confession of the Christian Faith, ... 1
Of the Ministers and their election, ... 11
Of their office and duetie, ... 12
The maner of electing the Pastors, &c., ... 12
Of the Elders, and as touching their office and election, . 15
Of the Deacons, and their office and election, . . . 16
Of the Consistorie, ... 17
Of the wekely assemblie of the Ministers, Elders, & Deacons, . 18
Interpretation of the Scriptures, ... 20
The Confession of our sinnes vsed in the Congregation, . 20
Another confession and prayer commonly vsed in the Church of Edinburgh, &c., ... 22
A Prayer for the whole state of Christes Church, . . 30
Prayer after the Sermon, ... 36
Another Prayer, ... 48
Prayers vsed in the Churches of Scotland in the tyme of their persecution, &c., ... 59
A thankesgiuing for our deliuerance, ... 68
A Prayer vsed at general and particular assemblies, . . 71
A Prayer to be vsed when God threateneth his iudgements, . 75
A Prayer in the tyme of affliction, ... 81
A Confession of sinnes to be vsed before Sermon, . . 87
The ordre of Baptisme, ... 91
The maner of the Lordes Supper, ... 115
The forme of Mariage, ... 128
The visitation of the Sicke, ... 136
Of Buryal, ... 150
The ordre of the Ecclesiastical discipline, . . . 150
A Prayer for the King, ... 158
The Psalmes of Dauid, ... 1
The Lordes Prayer, ... 498
The X Commandements, ... 501
The Lamentation of the Sinner, ... 504
The Catechisme of M. Caluin, ... 1

small 8vo, (1.) Kalendar, &c., 12 leaves, and signatures A to K, in eights, pp. 159. (2.) The Psalmes with the Tunes, signatures A to I i, in eights, pp. 512. (3.) The Catechism, signatures A to N n 3, in eights, pp. 192.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH USED IN THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION AT GENEVA: RECEIVED AND APPROVED BY THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

I BELEVE and confesse, my Lord God eternal, infinite, unmeasurable . . . To whome, with the Sonne and the Holie Ghost, be all praise, honour, and glorie, now and ever. So be it.

(See vol. iv. pp. 169-173.)

OF THE MINISTERS AND THEIR ELECTION.

What things are chiefly required in the Ministers.[1]

Let the Church first diligently consider . . . the people sing a psalme and departe.

(See vol. iv. pp. 174-176.)

OF THE ELDERS, AND AS TOUCHING THEIR OFFICE AND ELECTION.

The Elders must be . . . in chusing the Ministers, as farre foorthe as their vocation requireth.

(See vol. iv. p. 176.)

OF THE DEACONS, AND THEIR OFFICE AND ELECTION.

The Deacons must be . . . afore rehearsed in the Ministers and Elders.

(See vol. iv. p. 176.)

We are not ignorant that the Scriptures make mencion of a fourth kinde of Ministers, left to the Church of Christ, which also are verie profitable where time and place do permit.

These Ministers are called Teachers or Doctors . . . in godlie reverence and subjection.

(See vol. iv. p. 177.)

[1] At p. 175, the edit. 1565 reads, "Pastors or Ministers."

The Wekelie assemblie of the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons.

To the intent . . . and amend.

(See vol. iv. pp. 177, 178.)

Interpretation of the Scriptures.

Everie weeke . . . before mencioned.

(See vol. iv. pp. 178, 179.)

When the Congregation is assembled at the houre appointed, the Minister useth this Confession, or like in effect, exhorting the people diligently to examine themselves, following in their hearts the tenor of his wordes.

The Confession of our Sinnes.

O Eternal God and moste merciful Father, we confesse, and acknowledge here before thy Divine Majestie . . . worlde without end. So be it.

(See vol. iv. pp. 181, 182.)

An other Confession and Prayer commonly used in the Church of Edinburgh, on the day of commune prayers.

O Dreadful and most mightie God, thou that from the beginning hast declared thy selfe a consuming fyre against the contemners of thy most holy precepts: and yet to the penitent sinners hast alwayes shewed thy selfe a favourable Father, and a God full of mercie; We, thy creatures, and workmanship of thine owne handes, confesse our selves most unworthye to open our eyes unto the heavens, but farre lesse to appeare in thy presence. For our consciences accuse us, and our manifest iniquities have borne witnes against us, that we have declined from thee. We have bene polluted with idolatrie; we have given thy glorie to creatures; we have sought support where it was not to be founde, and have lightlyed thy most holesome admonitions. The manifest corruption of our lives in all

estates, evidently proveth that we have not rightly regarded thy statutes, lawes, and holy ordinances; and this was not only done, O Lord, in the time of our blindnes, but even now, when of thy mercie thou hast opened unto us an entrance to thine heavenly kingdome by the preaching of thine holy Evangel, the whole body of this miserable Realme stil continueth in their former impietie. For the most parte, alas! following the footesteps of the blynde and obstinate Princesse, utterly despise the light of thyne Evangel, and delyte in ignorance and idolatrie; others lyve as a people without God, and without all feare of thy terrible judgementes. And some, O Lord, that in mouth professe thy blessed Evangel, by their sclanderous lyfe blaspheme the same. We are not ignorant, O Lord, that thou art a righteous Judge, that cannot suffer iniquitie long to be unpunished upon the obstinate transgressors; especially, O Lord, when that after so long blindnes and horrible defection from thee, so lovingly thou callest us again to thy favour and fellowship, and that yet we do obstinately rebel. We have, O Lord, in our extreme miserie, called unto thee; yea, even when we appeared utterly to have beene consumed in the furie of our enemies, and then didest thou mercifully incline thine eares unto us. Thou foughtest for us even by thine owne power, when in us there was nether wisdome nor force. Thou alone brakest the yoake from our neckes, and set us at libertie, when we by our foolishnes had made our selves sclaves unto strangiers: and mercifully unto this day hast thou continued with us the light of thine Evangel, and so ceasest not to heape upon us benefites both spiritual and temporal. But yet, alas! O Lord, we clearly see that our great ingratitude craveth farther punishment at thy handes, the signes whereof are evident before our eyes. (.) For the whispering of sedition, the contempt of thy graces offered, and the mainteinance of idolatrie, are assured signes of thy farther plagues to fall upon us in particular for our greivous offences. And this unmeasurable untemperatnes

of the ayre doeth also threaten thine accustomed plague of famine, which commonly followeth riotous excesse and contempt of the pore, wherewith, alas, the whole earth is replenished. (.)[1] We have nothing, O Lord, that we may lay betwixt us and thy judgement but thyne only mercie, freely offred to us in thy deare Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, purchased to us by his death and passion. For if thou wilt enter in judgement with thy creatures, and keepe in minde our greivous synnes and offences, then can there no flesh escape condemnation. And, therefore, we most humbly beseeche thee, O Father of mercies, for Christ Jesus thy Sonnes sake, to take from us these stony hearts, who so long have heard aswell thy mercies as severe judgements, and yet have not bene effectually moved with the same; and give unto us hearts mollified by thy Spirit, that may both conceive and kepe in mynde the reverence that is due unto thy Majestie. Looke, O Lord, unto thy chosen children labouring under the imperfections of the fleshe, and grant unto us that victorie that thou hast promised unto us by Jesus Christ thy Sonne, our onely Saviour, Mediator, and Lawgiver: To whome, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and praise, now and ever.

A Confession of Sinnes, and Petitions, made unto God in the tyme of our extreame troubles, and yet commonly used in the Churches of Scotland, before the Sermon.

Eternal and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou that showest mercy, and kepest covenant with them that love and in reverence kepe thy commandements, even when thou powrest foorth thy hote displeasure and just judgments upon the obstinat inobedient; we here prostrat our selves before the throne of thy Majestie, from our hearts confessing, that justelie thou hast punished us by the tyrannie of strangers, and

[1] These clauses included within this (.) may be used, or any of them as occasion serveth. --(Marginal note.)

that more justelie thou mayest bring upon us againe the bondage and yoak which of thy mercy for a season thou hast removed. Our kings, princes, and people in blindnes have refused the word of thyne eternall veritie; and in so doing, we have refused the league of thy mercy offered to us, in Jesus Christ thy Sonne, which albeit thou now of thy meere mercy hast offered to us againe in such aboundance, that none can be excused by reason of ignorance; yet not the lesse to the judgement of men, impietie overfloweth the whole face of this realme. For the great multitude delyte them selves in ignorance and idolatrie: and suche, alas! as appeare to reverence and embrace thy word, do not expresse the fruits of repentance, as it becometh the people, to whome thou hast showed thy selfe, so merciful and favourable. These are thy juste judgements, O Lord, whereby thou punishest sinne by sinne, and man by his owne iniquitie, so that there can be no end of sinne, except thou prevent us with thy undeserved grace. Convert us, therefore, O Lord, and we shall be converted; suffer not our unthankfulnes to procure of thy most just judgements, that strangers againe impire over us, neither yet that the light of thy Evangel be taken from us. But howsoever it be, that the great multitude be altogether rebellious, and also that in us there remaineth perpetual imperfections, yet for the glory of thine owne Name, and for the glory of thine onely beloved Sonne Jesus Christ, whose veritie and Evangel thou of thy meere mercy hast manifested amongst us: it wil please thee to take us in to thy protection, and in thy defence, that all the worlde may know, that, as of thy meere mercy thou hast begone this worke of our salvation amongst us, so of this same mercy thou wilt continue it. Graunt us this, mercifull Father, for Christ Jesus thy Sonnes sake. So be it.

This done, the people sing a Psalme all together, in a plaine tune: which ended, the Minister prayeth for the assistance of God's holy Spirit, as the same shal move his heart, and so procedeth to the Sermon; using after the Sermon this prayer following, or suche like.

A PRAYER FOR THE WHOLE STATE OF CHRIST'S CHURCH.

Almightie God, and moste mercifull Father, . . . to whome thou hast committed the sworde.

(See vol. iv. p. 182, to last line of p. 183.)

Especially, O Lord,[1] according to our bounden duetie, we beseche thee to maintene and increase the noble estate of the Quenes Majestie, and hir[2] honorable Counsell with all the Estate, and whole bodie of the Communewealth. Let thy Fatherlie favour so preserve her, and thine holie Spirit so governe her heart, that she may in suche sorte execute her office that thy religion may be purely mainteened, maners reformed, and sinne punished according to the precise rule of thine holie Worde.

And for that we be . . . we make our confession, saying,

I BELEVE IN GOD, etc.

(See vol. iv. p. 184, line 9, to p. 185.)

Then the people sing a Psalme, which ended, the Minister pronounceth one of these blessings, and so the Congregation departeth :

THE Lorde blesse us and save us; the Lorde make his face shine upon us, and be merciful unto us; the Lorde turne his countenance towarde us, and graunte us his peace.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and communion of the holie Ghost, be with us all. So be it.

It shall not be necessarie for the Minister dayly to repeate all these before mentioned . . . after the Sermon, weekly to be observed.

(See vol. iv. p. 186.)

These Prayers that followe are used in the French Church of Geneva. The first serveth for Sunday after the Sermon, and the other that followeth is said upon Wednesday, which is the day of Commune Prayer.

[1] See vol. iv. p. 184, footnote 2.

[2] In edit. 1575, "the Kinges Majestie, and his."

ANOTHER MANNER OF PRAYER AFTER THE SERMON.

Almightie God and heavenlie Father, since thou hast promised to graunte our requests, which we shal make unto thee in the name of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, thy welbeloved Sonne; and we are also taught by him and his Apostles to assemble our selves in his Name, promising that he wil be among us, and make intercession for us unto thee for the obteining of all such things as we shal agre upon here in earth; we, therefore (having first thy commandement to praye for such as thou hast appoynted rulers and governours over us, and also for all things nedeful both for thy people, and for al sortes of men, forasmuche as our faith is grounded on thine holie worde and promises, and that we are here gathered together before thy face, and in the name of thy Sonne our Lord Jesus), we, I say, make our earnest supplication unto thee, our moste merciful God and bountiful Father, that for Jesus Christ's sake, our onelie Saviour and Mediator, it would please thee, of thine infinite mercie, freely to pardon our offences, and in suche sorte to drawe and lift up our hearts and affections towardes thee, that our requestes may both procede of a fervent minde, and also be agreable unto thy most blessed wil and pleasure, which is onely to be accepted.

(.) We beseche thee, therefore, O heavenlie Father, as touching all princes and rulers unto whome thou hast committed the administration of thy justice, and namely, as touching the excellent estate of the Quenes Majestie, and all her[1] honorable Counsel, with the rest of the magistrates and commons of the realme, that it would please thee to graunte her thine holie Spirit, and increse the same from time to time in her, that she may with a pure faith acknowledge Jesus Christ thine onlie Sonne, our Lord, to be King of all kings, and Governour of all governours, even as thou hast given all power unto him both

[1] In edit. 1575, "the Kinges Majestie, and all his."

in heaven and in earth; and so give herselfe wholy to serve him, and to advance his kingdome in her dominions (ruling by thy worde her subjectes, which be thy creatures, and the shepe of thy pasture), that we being mainteined in peace and tranquillitie bothe here and everie where, may serve thee in all holines and vertue; and finally, being delivered from all feare of enemies, may render thankes unto thee all the dayes of our life.

We beseche thee also, moste deare Father and Saviour, for all suche as thou hast appoynted Ministers unto thy faithful people, and unto whome thou hast committed the charge of soules, and the ministerie of thine holie Gospel, that it would please thee so to guide them with thine holie Spirit, that they may be found faithful and zealous of thy glorie, directing alwaye their whole studies unto this end, that the poore shepe which be gone astray out of the flocke, may be soght out, and broght againe unto the Lord Jesus, who is the chief Shepherd and head of all Bishops, to the intent they may from day to day grow and increase in him unto all righteousnesse and holines: And, on the other part, that it would please thee to deliver all the Churches from the daunger of ravening wolves, and from hirelings, who seke their owne ambicion and profit, and not the setting foorth of thy glorie onely, and the safegarde of thy flocke.

Moreover, we make our prayers unto thee, O Lord God, moste merciful Father, for all men in general, that as thou wilt be knowen to be the Saviour of all the worlde by the redempcion purchased by thine onely Sonne Jesus Christ; even so that such as have bene hitherto holden captive in darknes and ignorance for lacke of the knowledge of the Gospel, may, through the preaching thereof, and the cleare light of thine holy Spirit, be brought into the right way of salvation, which is to know that thou art onely very God, and that he, whome thou hast sent, is Jesus Christ: likewise, that they whome thou hast already endued with thy grace, and illuminated their hearts with the knowledge of thy worde, may continually in

crease in godlines, and be plenteously enriched with spiritual benefites; so that we may altogether worship thee, both with heart and mouthe, and render due honour and service unto Christ our Maister, King, and Lawmaker.

In like maner, O Lord of all true comfort, we commend unto thee in our prayers, all such persones as thou hast visited and chastised by thy crosse and tribulation; all such people as thou hast punished with pestilence, warre, or famine; and all other persons afflicted with povertie, imprisonment, sicknes, banishment, or any like bodilie adversitie, or hast otherwise troubled and afflicted in spirit; that it would please thee to make them perceive thy fatherlie affection towarde them; that is, that these crosses be chastisings for their amendment, to the intent that they shulde unfainedly turne unto thee, and so by cleaving unto thee might receive ful comfort, and be delivered from all maner of evil. But especially, we commend unto thy Divine protection, all such which are under the tyrannie of Antichrist, and both lacke this foode of life, and have not libertie to call upon thy Name in open assemblie; chiefly, our poore brethren which are imprisoned and persecuted by the enemies of thy Gospel, that it would please thee, O Father of consolations, to strengthen them by the power of thine holie Spirit, in such sorte as they never shrinke backe, but that they may constantly persevere in thine holy vocation, and so to succour and assist them as thou knowest to be moste expedient, comforting them in their afflictions, mainteining them in thy safegarde against the rage of wolves, and increasing in them the gifts of thy Spirit, that they may glorifie thee their Lord God, both in their life and in their death.

Finally, O Lord God, most deare Father, we beseech thee to graunte unto us also, which are here gathered together in the name of thy Sonne Jesus, to heare his worde preached,[1] that

[1] If the Lordes Supper be ministred, then is here added this clause—"And to celebrate his holie Supper."—(Marginal note.)

we may acknowledge truely, and without hypocrisie, in how miserable a state of perdicion we are in by nature, and how worthely we procure unto our selves everlasting damnacion, heaping up from time to time, thy grievous punishmentes towarde us, through our wicked and sinful life, to the end, that (seing there remaineth no sparke of goodnes in our nature, and that there is nothing in us, as touching our first creation, and that which we receive of our parents, mete to enjoy the heritage of God's kingdome) we may wholly render up our selves with all our hearts, with an assured confidence unto thy dearly beloved Sonne, Jesus our Lord, our onely Saviour and Redeemer, to the intent, that he dwelling in us, may mortifie our olde man, that is to say, our sinfull affections, and that we may be renewed into a more godlie life, whereby thine holie Name (as it is worthy of all honour) may be advanced and magnified throughout the worlde, and in all places: likewise, that thou mayest have the tuicion and governance over us, and that we may learne dayly more and more to humble and submit our selves unto thy Majestie, in such sorte, that thou mayest be counted King and governour over all, guyding thy people with the sceptre of thy worde, and by the vertue of thine holie Spirite, to the confusion of thine enemies, through the might of thy trueth and righteousnes; so that by this meanes all power and height which withstandeth thy glorie, may be continually throwen downe and abolished, unto suche time, as the ful and perfect face of thy kingdome shal appeare, when thou shalt shewe thy selfe in judgement in the persone of thy Sonne; whereby also we, with the rest of thy creatures, may rendre unto thee perfect and true obedience, even as thine heavenly Angels do apply themselves and onely to the performing of thy commandements, so that thine onlie wil may be fulfilled without any contradiction, and that every man may bend him self to serve and please thee, renouncing

HALLOWED BE THY NAME.

THY KINGDOME COME.

THY WILL BE DONE.

their owne wiles, with all the affections and desires of the flesh. Graunt us also, good Lord, that we, thus walking in the love and dread of thine holie Name, may be nourished through thy goodness, and that we may receive at thine hands, all things expedient and necessarie for us, and so use thy gifte peaceably and quietly, to this end, that when we se that thou hast care of us, we may the more affectuously acknowledge thee to be our Father, loking for all good gifts at thine hand, and by with-drawing and pulling backe all our vaine confidence from creatures, may set it wholy upon thee, and so rest onely in thy moste bountiful mercie. And for so much as whiles we continue here in this transitorie life, we are so miserable, so fraile, and so much enclined unto sinne, that we fall continually and swarve from the right way of thy commandements, we beseech thee pardon us our innumerable offences, whereby we are in danger of thy judgement and condemnation, and forgive us so freely, that death and sinne may hereafter have no title against us, neither lay unto our charge the wicked root of sin which doeth ever more remaine in us, but grant that by thy commandment we may forget the wrongs which other do unto us, and in steade of seking vengeance, may procure the wealth of our enemies. And for as much as of our selves, we are so weake, that we are not able to stand upright one minute of an houre, and also that we are so belaid and assalted evermore with suche a multitude of so dangerous enemies, that the devil, the worlde, sinne, and our owne concupiscences do never leave of to fight against us; let it be thy good pleasure to strengthen us with thy holie Spirit, and to arme us with thy grace, that thereby we may be able constantly to withstand all tentations, and to persevere in this spiritual battel against sinne, until suche time as we shal obteine the ful victorie, and so at length may triumphantly rejoyce in thy Kingdome, with our captaine and governour Jesus Christ our Lord.

GIVE US THIS DAY OUR DAILIE BREAD.

AND FORGIVE US OUR TRESPASSES.

AND LEAD US NOT INTO TENTATION.

This Prayer following, is used to be said after the Sermon, on the day which is appointed for commune Prayer: and it is very propre for our state and time, to move us to true repentance, and to turne backe God's sharpe roddes which yet threaten us.

ANOTHER PRAYER.

God Almightie and heavenlie Father, we acknowledge in our consciences, and confesse, as the trueth is, that we are not worthie to lift up our eyes unto heaven, muche lesse mete to come into thy presence, and to be bolde to thinke that thou wilt heare our prayers, if thou have respect to that which is in us; for our consciences accuse us, and our owne sinnes doe beare witnes against us: yea, and we knowe that thou art a righteous Judge, which doest not counte sinners righteous, but punishest the fautes of such as transgresse thy commandements. Therefore, O Lord, when we consider our whole life, we are confounded in our owne hearts, and can not chuse but be beaten downe, and as it were despaire, even as though we were alreadie swallowed up in the depe goulfe of deathe. Notwithstanding, moste merciful Lord, since it hath pleased thee of thine infinite mercie, to commande us to call upon thee for helpe, even from the depe botome of hel; and that the more lacke and defaute we fele in our selves, so muche the rather we shulde have recourse unto thy soveraigne bountie; since also thou hast promised to heare and accept our requestes and supplications, without having any respect to our worthines, but onely in the Name, and for the merites of our Lord Jesus Christ, whome alone thou hast appointed to be our Intercessor and Advocate; we humble our selves before thee, renouncing all vaine confidence in man's helpe, and cleave onely to thy mercie, and with ful confidence call upon thine holie name, to obtaine pardon for our sinnes.

First, O Lord, besides the innumerable benefites which thou doest universally bestowe upon all men in earth, thou hast

given us such speciall graces, that it is not possible for us to rehearse them, no, nor sufficiently to conceive them in our mindes: As namely, it hath pleased thee to call us to the knowledge of thine holie Gospel, drawing us out of the miserable bondage of the Devill, whose sclaves we were, and delivering us from moste cursed idolatrie, and wicked superstition, wherein we were plunged, to bring us into the light of thy trueth. Notwithstanding, such is our obstinacie and unkindnes, that not onely we forget those thy benefites which we have received at thy bountiful hand; but have gone astray from thee, and have turned our selves from thy law, to goe after our owne concupiscence and lustes, and neither have given worthy honor and due obedience to thine holie worde, neither have advanced thy glorie as our duetie required. And although thou hast not ceased continually to admonish us most faithfullie by thy Worde, yet we have not given eare to thy Fatherlie admonition.

Wherefore, O Lord, we have sinned and have grievouslie offended against thee, so that shame and confusion apperteineth unto us, and we acknowledge that we are altogether giltie before thy judgement, and that if thou wouldest intreat us according to our demerites, we could look for none other then death and everlasting damnation. For although we wolde go aboute to cleare and excuse our selves, yet our owne conscience wolde accuse us, and our wickednes wolde appeare before thee, to condemne us. And in very dede, O Lord, we see by the corrections which thou hast alreadie used towardes us, that we have given thee great occasion to be displeased with us: for seing that thou art a just and upright Judge, it cannot be without cause that thou punishest thy people. Wherefore, for asmuche as we have felt thy stripes, we acknowledge that we have justly stirred up thy displeasure against us, yea, and yet we se thine hand lifted up to beate us afresh: for the roddes and weapons wherewith thou art accustomed to execute thy vengeance, are alreadie in thine hand; and the threatnings of

thy wrath, which thou usest against the wicked sinners, be in ful readinea.

Now though thou shuldest punish us much more grievouslie then thou hast hitherto done, and that, whereas we have received one stripe, thou wouldest give us an hundreth: yea, if thou wouldest make the curses of thine Oulde Testament which came then upon thy people Israel, to fall upon us, we confesse that thou shouldest do therein very righteously, and we can not denie but we have fully deserved the same.

Yet Lord, for somuche as thou art our Father, and we be but earth and slyme; seing thou art our Maker, and we the workmanship of thine hands; since thou art our pastor, and we thy flocke; seing also that thou art our Redemer, and we are the people whom thou hast bought; finally, because thou art our God, and we thy chosen heritage, suffer not thine anger so to kindle against us, that thou shouldest punish us in thy wrath, neither remember our wickednes, to the end to take vengeance thereof, but rather chastise us gentlie according to thy mercie.

Trueth it is, O Lord, that our misdeeds have inflamed thy wrath against us, yet considering that we call upon thy Name, and beare thy marke and badge, mainteine rather the worke that thou hast begonne in us by thy free grace, to the ende that all the world may know that thou art our God and Saviour. Thou knowest that suche as be dead in grave, and whom thou hast destroyed and brought to confusion, will not set forthe thy praises; but the heavie soules, and comfortles, the humble hearts, the consciences opprest and loden with the grievous burthen of their sinnes, and therefore thyrst after thy grace, they shal set forthe thy glorie and praise.

Thy people of Israel oftentimes provoked thee to anger through their wickednes, whereupon thou didest, as right required, punish them; but so sone as they acknowledged their offences, and returned to thee, thou didst receave them alwaies to mercie: and were their enormities and sinnes never so

grievous, yet for thy covenant's sake, which thou hadst made with thy servants Abraham, Isaak, and Jacob, thou hast alwayes withdrawne from them the roddes and curses which were prepared for them, in suche sort that thou didst never refuse to heare their prayers.

We have obteined by thy goodnes a farre more excellent covenant which we may alledge, that is, the covenant which thou first madest and stablishest by the hand of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and was also by thy divine providence written with his blood and sealed with his death and passion.

Therefore, O Lorde, we renouncing our selves, and all vaine confidence in man's helpe, have our only refuge to this thy most blessed covenant, whereby our Lord Jesus, through the offering up of his bodie in sacrifice, hath reconciled us unto thee. Beholde therefore, O Lord, in the face of thy Christ, and not in us, that by his intercession thy wrath may be appeased, and that the bright beames of thy countenance may shine upon us to our great comfort and assured salvation: and from this time forwarde vouchsafe to receive us under thine holy tuicion, and governe us with thine holy Spirit, whereby we may be regenerat anew unto a farre better life:—

So that thy Name may be sanctified: Thy Kingdome come: Thy Will be done in earth as it is in heaven: Give us this day our daily bread: And forgive us our detts even as we forgive our detters: And lead us not into tentation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the Kingdome, and the power, and the glorie for ever and ever. Amen.

And albeit we are most unworthie in our owne selves to open our mouthes and to intreat thee in our necessities, yet for as much as it hath pleased thee to commande us to pray one for another, we make our humble prayers unto thee for our poore brethren and membres whome thou doest visit and chastice with thy roddes and correction, moste instantly desiring thee to turne away thine anger from them. Remember, O Lord, we

beseche thee, that they are thy children, as we are; and though they have offended thy Majestie, yet that it would please thee not to cease to procede in thine accustomed bountie and mercie, which thou hast promised shulde evermore continue towardes thine elect. Vouchsafe, therefore, good Lord, to extende thy pitie upon all thy Churches, and towardes all thy people, whome thou dost now chastise either with pestilence or warre, or such like thine accustomed roddes, whether it be by sicknes, prison, or povertie, or any other affliction of conscience and minde; that it wolde please thee to comfort them as thou knowest to be most expedient for them, so that thy roddes may be instructions for them to assure them of thy favour, and for their amendement, when thou shalt give them constancie and patience, and also aswage and stay thy corrections, and so at length by delivering them from all their troubles, give them most ample occasion to rejoyce in thy mercie, and to praise thyne holy Name: Chiefly that thou woldest, O Lord, have compassion aswel on all, as on everie one of them, that employ themselves for the maintenance of thy trueth; strengthen them, O Lord, with an invincible constancie, defend them and assist them in all things and everie where; overthrow the crafty practises and conspiracies of their enemies and thyne; bridle their rage, and let their bold enterprises, which they undertake against thee and the membres of thy Sonne, turne to their owne confusion; and suffer not thy kingdome of Christians to be utterly desolate, neither permit that the remembrance of thine holy Name be cleane abolished in earth, nor that they among whome it hath pleased thee to have thy praises celebrated, be destroyed and brought to nought, and that the Turkes, Paganes, Papistes, and other infidels, might boast themselves thereby, and blaspheme thy Name.[1] (.·.)

[1] To this the Minister addeth that parte which is in the former Prayer, marked thus (.), leaf 101 [p. 299].—(Marginal note.)

PRAYERS USED IN THE CHURCHES OF SCOTLAND, IN THE TIME OF THEIR PERSECUTION BY THE FRENCHMEN: BUT PRINCIPALLY WHEN THE LORDES TABLE WAS TO BE MINISTRED.

Eternal and everlyving God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, we thy creatures, and the workmanship of thine owne hands, sometymes dead by sinne, and thral to Satan by meanes of the same, but now of thy meere mercie called to libertie and life by the preaching of thine Evangel, do take upon us this boldnes (not of our selves, but of the commandement of thy deare Sonne our Lord Jesus Christ) to poure foorth before thee the peticions and complaints of our troubled hearts, oppressed with feare, and wounded with sorrowe. Trewe it is, O Lord, that we are not worthie to appeare in thy presence, by the reason of our manifold offences; neither yet are we worthie to obteine any comfort of thy hands, for any righteousnes that is in us. But seing, O Lord, that to turne backe from thee, and not to call for thy support in the time of our trouble, it is the entrance to death, and the plaine way to desperation; we, therefore, confounded in our selves (as the people that on all sydes is assalted with sorrowes), do present our selves before thy Majestie as our soveraygne Capitane and onely Redemer, Jesus Christ, hath commanded us, in whose name and for whose obedience we humbly crave of thee remission of our former iniquities, aswel committed in matters of religion, as in our lyves and conversation. The examples of others that have called unto thee in their like necessities, give unto us esperance that thou wilt not reject us, neither yet suffer us for ever to be confounded. Thy people Israel did oftentymes declyne from thy lawes, and did follow the vanitie of superstition and idolatrie; and oftentimes didst thou correct and sharply punish them, but thou diddest never utterly despise them, when in their miseries unfainedly they turned unto thee. Thy Church of the Jewes were sinners, O Lord, and the most part of the same did

consent unto the death of thy dear Sonne our Lord Jesus Christ; and yet didst not thou despise their prayers, when in the time of their grievous persecution they called for thy support. O Lord, thou hast promised no les to us, then thou hast performed to them, and therefore take we boldness at thine owne commandement, and by the promise of our Lord Jesus Christ, most humbly to crave of thee, that as it hath pleased thy mercie partly to remove our ignorance and blyndnes by the light of thy blessed Evangel, that so it may please thee to continue the same light with us, til that thou deliver us from all calamitie and trouble. And for this purpose, O Lord, it will please thee to thrust out faithful workmen in this thy harvest within this realme of Scotland, to the which, after so long darcknes of Papistrie and superstition, thou hast offered the trueth of thine Evangel in all purenes and simplicitie: continue this thy grace with us, O Lord, and purge this realme from all false teachers, from dumme dogs, dissembled hypocrits, cruel wolves, and all suche as shew themselves enemies to thy true religion.[1] (.)

But now,[2] O Lord, the dangers which appeare, and the trouble which increaseth by the cruel tyrannie of forsworn straingers, compelleth us to complaine before the throne of thy mercy, and to crave of thee protection and defence against their most injust persecution. That nation, O Lord, for whose pleasure, and for defence of whome, we have offended thy Majestie, and violated our faith, oft breaking the leagues of unitie and concorde, which our kings and governours have contracted with our neighbours; that nation, O Lord, for whose aliance our fathers and predicessors have shead their blood, and we (whome now by tyrannie they oppresse) have oft susteined the hasard of battell; that nation finally, to whom alwayes we have bene faithful, now after their long practised disceit, by

[1] Here may be added the Prayers for Magistrates as before (.), [p. 299.]—(Marginal note.)

[2] These Prayers following were first used, when both the Kings of France were lyving.—(Marginal note.)

manifest tyranny do seke our destruction. Worthely and justly mayst thou, O Lord, give us to be sclaves unto such tyrants, because for the mainteinance of their friendship we have not feared to breake our solemned othes made unto others, to the great dishonour of thyne holie Name; and therefore justly mayest thou punish us by the same nation, for whose pleasur we feared not to offende thy divine Majestie. In thy presence, O Lord, we lay for our selves no kynde of excuse; but for thy deare Sonne Jesus Christ's sake, we cry for mercie, pardon, and grace. Thou knowest, O Lord, that their craftie wittes in many things have abused our simplicitie; for under pretence of the maintenance of our libertie, they have sought and have found the way (unles thou alone confound their councels) to bring us in their perpetuall bondage. And now the rather, O Lord, do they seeke our destruction, because we have refused that Romane Antichrist, whose kingdome they defend in daily sheading the blood of thy Saincts. In us, O Lord, there is no strength, no wisdome, no number nor judgement to withstand their force, their craft, their multitude and diligence; and therefore, looke thou upon us, O LORD, according to thy mercie. Beholde the tyrannie used against our poore brethren and sisters, and have thou respect to that despiteful blasphemie which uncessantly they spewe foorth against thyne eternal trueth?

Thou hast assisted thy Church[1] even from the beginning, and for the deliverance of the same thou hast plagued the cruel persecutors from tyme to tyme. Thy hand drowned Pharao; Thy sword devoured Amelec; Thy power repulsed the pride of Senacherib; And thyne angel so plagued Herod, that wormes and lice were punishers of his pryde. O Lord, thou remaynest one for ever; thy nature is unchangeable, thou canst not but hate crueltie, pride, oppression, and murther,

[1] Behold how mercifully God hath broken the yoake of our servitude.—(Marginal note.)

which now the men whom we never offended, pretend against us: Yea further, by all meanes, they seke to banish from this realme, thy deare Sonne our Lord JESUS CHRIST: the true preaching of his worde, and faithful ministers of the same, and by tyranny they pretend to mainteine most abhominable idolatrie, and the pompe of that Romain Antichrist. Loke thou therefore upon us, O Lord, in the multitude of thy mercies: stretch out thine arme, and declare thy self protector of thy trueth: represse the pride, and daunten thou the furie of these cruell persecuters: suffer them never so to prevail against us, that the brightnes of thy word be extinguished in this realme; but whatsoever thou hast appoynted in thyne eternal counsel, to become of our bodies, yet, we most humbly beseche thee for Jesus Christ thy Sonnes sake, so to maintaine the puritie of thyne Evangel within this realme, that we and our posteritie may enjoy the fruition thereof, to the praise and glorie of thyne holie name, and to our everlasting comfort. And this we most affectuously desire of thy mercie, by the merites and intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom, with Thee and the Holie Ghost, be all honor, glory, prayse, and benediction, now and ever. So be it.

THIS IS ADDED SO OFTE AS THE LORD'S TABLE IS MINISTRED.

Now last, O Lord, we that be here assembled to celebrate the Supper of thy deare Sonne our Lord Jesus Christ, who did not onely once offer his bodie and shead his blood upon the crosse, for our ful redemption, but also to kepe us in recent memorie of that his so great a benefite, provided that his bodie and blood shulde be given to us to the nourishment of our soules. We I say, that presently are convened to be partakers of that his most holy Table, most humblie do beseech thee to grant us grace, that in sinceritie of heart, in true faith, and with ardent and unfained zeale, we may receive of him so great a benefite: to wit, that frutefully we may possesse his bodie and his blood,

yea Jesus Christ himselfe, very God and very man, who is that heavenly bread which giveth life unto the worlde. Give us grace, O Father, so to eate his flesh, and so to drink his blood that hereafter we live no more in our selves, and according to our corrupt nature, but that he may live in us, to conduct and guide us to that most blessed lyfe that abydeth for ever. Grant unto us, O heavenly Father, so to celebrate this day the blessed memorie of thy deare Sonne, that we may be assured of thy favour and grace towardes us. Let our faith be so exercised, that not onely we may seale the increase of the same; but also that the cleare confession thereof, with the good workes proceeding of it, may appeare before men, to the praise and glory of thyne holie name, which art God everlasting, blessed for ever. So be it.

A THANKSGIVING UNTO GOD AFTER OUR DELIVERANCE FROM THE TYRANNY OF THE FRENCHMEN; WITH PRAYERS MADE FOR THE CONTINUANCE OF THE PEACE BETWIXT THE REALMES OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

Now, Lord, seing that we enjoye comfort both in bodie and spirite, by reason of this quietnes of thy mercie graunted unto us, after our moste desperate troubles, in the which we appeared utterlie to have bene overwhelmed; we praise and glorifie thy mercie and goodnes, who piteously loked upon us when we in our owne selves were utterlie confounded. But seing, O Lord, that to receive benefites at thy hands, and not to be thankeful for the same, is nothing else but a seale against us in the day of judgement; we most humbly beseche thee to graunt unto us hearts so mindefull of the calamities past, that we continually may feare to provoke thy justice to punish us with the like or worse plagues. And seeing that when we by our owne power were altogether unable to have freed our selves from the tyranny of strangers, and from the bondage and thraldome pretended against us, Thou of thyne especiall goodnes didst move the

hearts of our neighbours (of whom we had deserved no such favour) to take upon them the common burthen with us, and for our deliverance not only to spend the lives of many, but also to hazarde the estate and tranquillity of their Realme and common wealth: Grant unto us, O Lord, that with such reverence we may remember thy benefits received, that after this in our defaute we never enter into hostilitie against the Realme and nation of England. Suffer us never, O Lord, to fall to that ingratitude and detestable unthankfulnes, that we should seke the destruction and death of those whom thou hast made instruments to deliver us from the tyranny of mercyles strangers. Dissipat thou the councels of such as deceitfully travel to stirre the hearts of the inhabitants of either Realme against the other. Let their malicious practises be their owne confusion: and graunt thou of thy mercy, that love, concorde, and tranquillitie may continue and encrease amongst the inhabitants of this yle, even to the comming of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whose glorious Evangel, thou of thy mercie dost cal us both to unitie, peace, and Christian concord; the ful perfection whereof we shal possesse in the fulnes of thy Kingdome, when all offences shalbe removed, iniquitie shalbe suppressed, and thy chosen children be fully endued with that perfect glorie, in the which now our Lord Jesus reigneth: to whome, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glorie, now and ever. So be it.

A Prayer used in the Assemblies of the Church, aswel particular as general.

Eternal and everliving God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou that of thyne infinite goodnes hast chosen to thy self a Church, unto the which ever from the fal of man thou hast manifested thy self: first, by thine owne voyce to Adam; next to Abraham and his sede, then to all Israel, by the publication of thy holy law; and last, by sending of thy onely Sonne, our

Lord Jesus Christ, that great Angel of thy Councel, into this worlde, and clad with our nature, to teach unto us thy holie wil, and to put an end to all revelations and prophecies; who also elected to himselfe Apostles, to whom, after his Resurrection he gave commandement to publish and preache his Evangel to all realmes and nations; promising to be with them even to the end of the worlde; yea, and moreover, that wheresoever two or three were gathered together in his Name, that he wold be there in the midst of them, not onely to instruct and teache them, but also to ratifie and confirme suche things as they shal pronounce or decree by thy Worde.

Seing, O Lord, that this hath bene thy love and fatherly care towardes thy Church, that not onely thou plantedst it, rules and guydes the chosen in the same by thyne holy Spirite and blessed Worde; but also, that when the external face of the same is polluted, and the visible bodie falleth to corruption, then thou of thy mercies, providest that it may be purged and restored againe to the former puritie, aswel in doctrine as in maners: whereof thou hast given sufficient document from age to age; but especially now, O Lord, after this publike defection from thy trueth and blessed ordinance, which our Fathers and we have sene in that Romaine Antichrist, and in his usurped authoritie: Now (I meane) O Lord, thou hast reveiled thy selfe and thy beloved Sonne Jesus Christ, clearly to the world againe, by the true preaching of his blessed Evangel, which also of thy mercy is offered unto us within this Realme of Scotland; and of the same thy mercie hast made us Ministers, and burthened us with a charge within thy Church.

But, O Lord, when we consider the multitude of enemies, that oppone themselves unto thy trueth, the practises of Satan, and the power of those that resist thy kingdome, together with our owne weaknes, fewe nomber, and manifolde imperfections; we cannot but feare the sudden way-taking of this thy great benefite: and therefore, destitute of all worldely comfort, we

have refuge to thine onely mercie and grace, most humbly beseching thee for Christ Jesus thy Sonnes sake, to oppone thine owne power to the pride of our enemies, who cease not to blaspheme thyne eternal trueth.

Give unto us, O Lord, that presentlie are assembled in thy Name, such aboundance of thy holy Spirit, that we may see those things that shall be expedient for the advancement of thy glory, in the midst of this perverse and stubburne generation. Give us grace, O Lord, that universally amongst our selves, we may agree in the unitie of true doctrine. Preserve us from damnable errors, and graunt unto us such puritie and cleaness of life, that we be not sclanderous to thy blessed Evangel. Blesse thou so our weake labours, that the fruites of the same may redound to the praise of thy holy Name, to the profite of this present generation, and of the posteritie to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whome, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honor and praise, now and ever. So be it.

THE ORDER OF BAPTISME.

First note, that forasmuch as it is not permitted by Gods Worde that Women shulde preache or minister the Sacraments, and it is evident, that the Sacraments are not ordeined of God to be used in private corners, as charmes, or sorceries, but left to the Congregation, and necessarilie annexted to Gods Worde, as sealcs of the same; Therefore, the Infant which is to be baptized shal be brought to the Church, on the day appointed to common prayer and preaching, accompanied with the Father and Godfather, so that after the Sermon, the Child being presented to the Minister, he demandeth this Question.[1]

Do you present this childe. . . . and will instruct this childe.

(See vol. iv. pp. 187-190.)

[1] The transgression of God's ordinance is called Iniquitie and Idolatrie, and is compared to Witchcraft and Sorcerie. 1 Sam. 15.

How dangerous also it is, to enterprise any thing rashely, or without the warrant of God's worde, the examples of Saul, Oze, Ozias, Nadab, and Abihu, ought sufficiently to warne us.—1 Sam. 13; 2 Sam. 6; 2 Chro. 25; Levi. 10; Numb. 3.—(Marginal note.)

Then the Father (or in his absence the Godfather) shall rehearse the Articles of his Faith: which done, the Minister expoundeth the same as after followeth.

Ane Exposition of the Creed.

The Christian faith whereof now ye have briefly heard the somme, is commonly divided in twelve Articles: but that we may the better understand what is conteined in the same, we shal divide it into foure principal partes. The first shall concerne God the Father, The second, Jesus Christ our Lord. The third shal expresse to us our faith in the Holy Ghost. And the fourth and last, shal declare what is our faith concerning the Church, and of the graces of God freely given to the same.

First, of God we confesse three things, to wit, that he is our Father, Almightie, maker of heaven and earth. Our Father we call him, and so by faith beleve him to be, not so muche, because he hath created us (for that we have common with the rest of creatures, who yet are not called to that honour to have God to them a favourable Father;) but we call him Father, by reason of his free adoption, by the which he hath chosen us to lyf everlasting in Jesus Christ. And this his most singular mercie we preferre to all things, earthly and transitorie: for without this there is to mankind no felicitie, no comfort, nor finall joy; and having this we are assured that by the same love by the which he once hath freely chosen us, he shall conduct the whole course of our life, that in the end we shal possesse that immortall kingdome that he hath prepared for his chosen children. For from this fountein of God's free mercie or adoption, springeth our vocation, our justification, our continual sanctification, and finally, our glorification: as witnesseth the Apostle.[1]

I BELEEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTIE MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

The same God our Father we confesse Almightie, not only in respect of that he may do, but in consideration that by his

[1] Rom. 8.

power and godly wysedome are all creatures in heaven and earth, and under the earth, ruled, guyded, and kept in that order that his eternal knowledge and wil hath appointed them.

And that is it which in the third part we do confesse, that he is Creator of heaven and earth: that is to saye, that the heaven and the earth, and the contents thereof, are so in his hand, that there is nothing done without his knowledge, neither yet against his wil, but that he ruleth them so, that in the end his godly Name shalbe gloryfied in them. And so we confesse and beleeve, that nether the devils, nor yet the wicked of the world, have any power to molest or trouble the chosen children of God, but in so farre as it pleaseth him to use them as instruments, ether to prove and trye our faith and patience, or else to stirre us to more fervent invocation of his Name, and to continual meditation of that heavenly rest and joye that abideth us after these transitorye troubles. And yet shall not this excuse the wicked, because they never loke in their iniquitie to please God, nor yet to obey his wil.

AND IN JESUS CHRIST HIS ONLY SONNE OUR LORD.

In JESUS CHRIST we confesse two distinct and perfect natures: to wit, the eternal Godhead and the perfect Manhood joyned together: so that we confesse and beleve, that that eternal Worde, which was from the begynning, and by the which all things were created, and yet are conserved and kept in their being, did, in the time appoynted in the counsel of his heavenly Father, receive our nature of a Virgine, by operation of the holie Ghost. So that in his conception, we acknowledge and beleve that there is nothing but puritie and sanctification; yea, even in somuche as he is become our brother. For it behoved him that shuld purge others from their sinnes, to be pure and clene from all spot of sinne, even from his conception. And as we confesse and beleve him conceived by the holy Ghost, so do we confesse and beleve him to be borne of a Virgine named Mary, of the tribe of Juda, and of

CONCEIVED BY THE HOLY GHOST.

BORNE OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

the familie of David;[1] that the promise of God and the prophecie might be fulfilled, to wit, "That the seede of the woman shulde breake downe the Serpent's head," and "that a Virgine shuld conceive and beare a childe, whose name shuld be Emmanuel, that is to say, God with us." The name Jesus, which signifieth a Saviour, was given unto him by the Angel, to assure us that it is he alone that saveth his people from their sinnes. He is called Christ, that is to say, Anoynted, by reason of the offices given unto him by God his Father; to wit, that he alone is appointed King, Priest, and Prophet. King, in that, that all power is given to him in heaven and earth; so that there is none other but he in heaven nor earth, that hath just authority and power to make lawes to bynd the consciences of men; neither yet is there any other that may defend our soules from the bondage of sinne, nor yet our bodies from the tiranny of man. And this he doeth by the power of his worde, by the which he draweth us out of the bondage and sclavery of Satan, and maketh us to reigne over sinne; whils that we lyve and serve our God in righteousnesse and holynes of our life. A Priest, and that perpetual and everlasting, we confesse him, by reason that by the sacrifice of his own body, which he once offered up upon the crosse, he hath fullie satisfied the justice of his Father in our behalf: so that whosoever seketh any meanes besides his death and passion, in heaven or in earth, to reconcile unto them God's favour, they do not onely blaspheme, but also, so farre as in them is, renounce the fruit and efficacie of that his onely one sacrifice. We confesse him to be the onely Prophet, who hath reveiled unto us, the whole will of his Father in all things perteining to our salvation.

This our Lord Jesus we confesse to be the onlie Sonne of God, because there is none such by nature but he alone. We confesse him also our Lord, not only by reason we are his creatures, but chiefly because he hath redeemed us by his precious blood,

[1] Fruf. 8. f(?); Isa. 7. e; Mat. 1. d.

and so hath gotten just dominion over us, as over the people whom he hath delivered from bondage of sinne, death, hel, and the devil, and hath made us Kings and Priests to God his Father.

SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE, WAS CRUCIFIED,

We farther confesse and beleve, that the same our Lord Jesus was accused before an earthly judge, Pontius Pilate, under whome albeit oft and divers times he was pronounced to be innocent, he suffered the death of the crosse, hanged upon a tree betwixt two theves. Which death, as it was most cruel and vile before the eyes of men, so was it accursed by the mouth of God himselfe, saying, "Cursed is everie one that hangeth on a tree." And this kynde of death susteined he in our person, because he was appointed of God his Father to be our pledge, and he that shuld beare the punishment of our transgressions. And so we acknowledge and beleve that he hath taken away that curse and malediction that hanged on us by reason of sinne. He verely died, rendring up his spirit into the hands of his Father, after that he had said, "Father into thy hands I commend my spirit." After his death,

DIED AND WAS BURIED, AND DESCENDED INTO HEL.

we confesse his body was buryed, and that he descended to the hel. But because he was the Author of life, yea, the very lyfe itself, it was impossible that he shulde be retained under the dolors of death; and

THE THIRD DAY HE ROSE AGAYNE FROM THE DEAD.

therefore the third day he rose agayn victor and conqueror of death and hel; by the which his resurrection, he hath brought life agayne into the world, which he, by the power of his Holie Spirit, communicateth unto his lyvely membres; so that now unto them corporal death is no death, but an entrance into that blessed life, wherein our head, Jesus Christ, is now entred. For after that he had suffi-

HE ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN, AND SITTETH ON THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTIE.

ciently prooven his resurrection to his disciples, and unto suche as constantly did abide with him to the death, he visiblie ascended to the heavens, and was taken from the eyes of men, and placed at the right hand of God the Father Almightie, where presently

he remaneth in his glory, onely Head, onely Mediator, and onely Advocate for all the members of his body: of which we have most especial comfort. First for that by his ascension the heavens are opened unto us, and an entrance made unto us, that boldly we may appeare before the throne of our Father's mercie. And, secondarylye, that we know that this honor and authoritie is given unto Jesus Christ, our head, in our name, and for our profite and utilitie. For albeit that in body he now be in the heaven, yet by the power of his Spirit he is present here with us, aswel to instruct us, as to comfort and mainteine us in all our troubles and adversiteis. From the which he shal finally deliver his whole Church, and every true member of the same, in that day when he shal visibly appeare agayn, Judge of the quicke and the dead.

For this finally we confesse of our Lord Jesus Christ, that as he was seene visibly to ascend, and so left the world, as touching that body that suffred and rose agayn; so do we constantly beleve that he shal come from the right hand of his Father, when all eyes shall see him; yea, even those that have pearced him; and then shall be gathered aswel those that then shal be found alive, as those that before have slept.[1] Separation shalbe made betwixt the lambes and the goates; that is to say, betwixt the elect and the reprobate. The one shal heare this joyful voice, "Come ye the blessed of my Father, possesse the kingdome that is prepared for you before the beginning of the worlde." The other shal heare that feareful and irrevocable sentence, "Depart from me, ye workers of iniquitie, to the fyre that never shalbe quenched." And for this cause, this day in the Scriptures is called "the day of refreshing," and "of the revelation of all secrets," because that then the just shall be delivered from all miseries, and shalbe possessed in the fulnes of their glory. Contrarywise, the reprobate shal receave judge-

FROM THENCE HE SHAL COME TO JUDGE BOTH THE QUICKE AND THE DEAD.

[1] Matt. 25.

ment, and recompence of all their impietie, be it openly or secretly wrought.

I BELEVE IN THE HOLY GHOST.

As we constantly beleve in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, as before is said; so do we assuredly beleve in the Holy Ghost, whome we confesse God equal with the Father and the Sonne; by whose working and mightie operation our darkenes is removed, our eyes spiritual are illuminated, our soules and consciences sprinkled with the blood of Jesus Christ, and we retayned in the trueth of God, even to our lyves end. And for these causes, we understand that this eternal Spirit proceding from the Father and the Sonne, hath in the Scriptures divers names. Sometymes called water, by reason of his purgation, and giving strength to this our corrupt nature to bring foorth good fruite; without whome this our nature shuld utterly be barren, yea, it shuld utterly abound in all wickednes. Sometimes the same Spirit is called fyre, by reason of the illumination and burning heate of fyre that he kindleth in our hearts. The same Spirit also is called oyle, or unction, by reason that his working mollyfieth the hardnes of our hearts, and maketh us receive the print of that image of Jesus Christ, by whome onely we are sanctified.

THE HOLIE CATHOLIK CHURCH, THE COMMUNION OF SAINTES.

We constantly beleve, that there is, was, and shalbe, even till the comming of the Lord Jesus, a Church, which is holy and universal; to wit, the Communion of Saincles. This Church is holy, because it receaveth free remission of sinnes, and that by faith only in the blood of Jesus Christ. Secondly, because it being regenerat, it receiveth the Spirit of sanctification and power to walke in newnes of lyfe, and in good workes, which God hath prepared for his chosen to walk in. Not that we think the justice of this Church, or of any member of the same, ever was, is, or yet shal be so ful and perfect, that it nedeth not to stoupe under mercie; but that because the imperfections are pardoned, and the justice of Jesus Christ imputed unto such as by true faith

cleave unto him. Which Church we cal Universal, because it consisteth and standeth of all tongues and nations; yea, of all estates and conditions of men and women, whome of his mercy God calleth from darknes to lyfe, and from the bondage and thraldome of synne to his spiritual service and puritie of life. Unto whome also he communicateth his Holy Spirit, giving unto them one faith, one head and soveraygne Lord, the Lord Jesus, one Baptisme and right use of Sacraments; whose hearts also he knitteth together in love and Christian concorde.

To this Church, holy and universal, we acknowledge and beleve three notable gifts to be graunted; to wit, THE FORGIVENES OF SINNES. remission of sinnes, which by true faith must be obteined in this lyfe. Resurrection of the flesh, which all shal have, albeit not in equal condition: for the reprobate (as before is sayd) shal rise but to feareful THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY, judgement and condemnation; and the just shal rise to be possessed in glory. And this resurrection shal not be an imagination, or that one body shal ryse for another; but every man shal receave in his owne bodie as he hath deserved, be it good or evel. The juste shal receave the life ever- AND THE LIFE EVERLASTING. lasting, which is the free gift of God given and purchased to his chosen by Jesus Christ, our onely Head and Mediator: to whome with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honor and glory, now and ever.

Then followeth this Prayer.

Almightie and everlasting God, which of thine infinite . . . In whose Name we pray, as he hath taught us: *Our Father*, etc.

(See vol. iv. p. 190.)

When they have prayed in this sorte, the Minister requireth the childes name, which knowen, he saith,

N. I Baptise thee in the Name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holie Ghost.

And as he speaketh these wordes, he taketh water in his hand, and layeth it upon the childes forehead; which done, he giveth thankes, as followeth:

Forasmuche, most holie and merciful Father, as . . . libertie of thy kingdome. So be it.

(See vol. iv. p. 191.)

THE MANER OF THE LORDS SUPPER.

The day when the Lord's Supper is ministred, which communely is used once a moneth, or so oft as the Congregation shal think expedient, the Minister useth to saye as followeth.

Let us marke, deare Brethren . . . and sundrie kindes of death.

(See vol. iv. pp. 191-193.)

And therefore, in the Name and authoritie of the eternal God, and of his sonne Jesus Christ, I excommunicate from this Table, all blasphemers of God, all idolaters,[1] all murtherers, all adulterers, all that be in malice or envie, all disobedient persons to father or mother, princes or magistrates, pastors or preachers, all theves, and disceivers of their neighbours; and finally, all suche as lyve a lyfe directly fighting against the wil of God: charging them as they wil aunswer in the presence of Him who is the righteous judge, that they presume not to prophane this most holy Table. And yet this I pronounce not to seclude any penitent person how grievous that ever his sinnes before have bene, so that he feele in his heart unfained[2] repentance for the same; but only such as continue in sinne without repentance. Neither yet is this pronounced against suche as aspire to a greater perfection, then they can in this present life attayne unto.

For albeit we fele . . . all praise, honor and glorie, now and ever. Amen.

(See vol. iv. pp. 193-194.)

[1] Gal. 7. [2] Matt. 3.

The exhortation ended, the Minister commeth down from the pulpit, and sitteth at the Table, every man and woman in likewise taking their place as occasion best serveth: then he taketh bread and giveth thanks, either in these wordes following, or like in effect.

O Father of mercie, and God of all consolation, . . . render all thankes, praise, and glorie, for ever and ever.

(See vol. iv. pp. 194-196.)

This done, the Minister breaketh the bread, and delivereth it to the people, who distribute and divide the same among themselves, according to our Saviour Christ's commandement,[1] and likewise giveth the cuppe. During the which time, some place of the Scriptures is read, which doeth lively set foorth the death of Christ,[2] to the intent that our eyes and senses may not onely be occupied in these outwarde signes of bread and wyne, which are called the visible word; but that our hearts and mindes also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lord's death, which is by this holie Sacrament represented. And after the action is done, he giveth thankes, saying:

Moste merciful Father, we render to thee all praise, thankes and glorie, for that it hath pleased thee of thy great mercies to graunt unto us miserable sinners, so excellent a gift and treasure, as to receive us into the[3] fellowship and companie of thy deare Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord, whome thou hast[4] delivered to death for us, and hast given him unto us, as a necessarie[5] foode and nourishment unto everlasting life. And now we beseche thee also, O heavenly Father, to grant us this request, that thou never suffer us to become so unkinde as to forget so worthie benefites, but rather imprint and fasten them sure in our hearts, that we may growe and increase daily more and more in true faith, which continuallie is[6] exercised in all manner of good workes; and so muche the rather, O Lord, confirme us in these[7] perillous dayes and rages of Satan, that we may con-

[1] Mat. 26; Mar. 14; Luc. 22.
[2] 1 Cor. 10; 1 Cor. 11; Joh. 13, 14.
[3] 1 Cor. 10.
[4] Rom. 4.
[5] John 6.
[6] Luc. 17; Gal. 5.
[7] 1 Tim. 4; Ephe. 5; 2 Pet. 3.

stantlie stand and continue in the confession of the same, to the advancement of thy[1] glorie, which art God over all things, blessed for ever. So be it.

The action thus ended, the people sing the 103 Psalme, "My soule, give laude," &c., or some other of thankesgiving: which ended, one of the blessings before mencioned, is recited, and so they rise from the Table, and departe.

To the Reader.

If so be that any wolde mervel why we follow rather this Order,[2] then any other in the Administration of this Sacrament, let him diligently consider, that first of all we utterly renounce the error of the Papistes: secondly, we restore unto the Sacrament his owne substance, and to Christ his propre place. And as for the wordes of the Lord's Supper, we rehearse them, not because they shulde change the substance of the bread or wine, or that the repetition thereof, with the intent of the sacrificer, shulde make the Sacrament (as the Papistes falsely beleeve) but they are red and pronounced, to teach us how to behave ourselves in that action,[3] and that Christ might witnesse unto our faith, as it were with his own mouth, that he hath ordained these signes to our spirituall use and comfort: We do first therefore examine our selves, according to Saint Paules rule, and prepare our mindes, that we may be worthy partakers of so high mysteries. Then taking bread, we give thankes, breake and distribute it, as Christ our Saviour hath taught us. Finally, the ministration ended, we give thankes againe, according to his example: So that without his worde and warrant, there is nothing in this holie action attempted.

The Forme of Mariage.

After the Bannes or Contract hath beene published three severall dayes in the Congregation (to the intent that if anie person

[1] Mat. 5; 1 Pet. 2.

[2] Why this order is observed rather then any other.—(Marg. note.)

[3] Mat. 20; 1 Cor. 11; Luc. 22.

have interest or title to either of the parties, they may have sufficient time to make their chalenge,) the parties assemble at the beginning of the Sermon, and the Minister, at time convenient, sayeth as followeth.

Of Marriage.—The Exhortation.

Dearlie beloved Brethren, we are here gathered . . . as God's worde doeth appoint.

(See vol. iv. p. 198-202.)

Then the Minister commendeth them to God, in this or suche like sorte :—

The Lord sanctifie and blesse you ! the Lord powre the richesse of his grace upon you, that ye may please him, and live together in holy love to your lives end! So be it.

Then is sung the 128 Psalme, "Blessed are they that feare the Lord," &c., or some other, apperteining to the same purpose.

The Visitation of the Sicke.

Because the Visitation of the Sicke is a thing verie necessarie, . . . commendeth him in the publike prayers to the Congregation.

(See vol. iv. p. 202.)

A Prayer to be said in Visiting of the Sicke.

O our good God, Lord and Father, the Creator and conserver of all things, the fountaine of all goodnes and benignitie, like as (among other thine infinite benefites which thou of thy great goodnes and grace doest distribute ordinarly unto all men) thou givest them health of bodie, to the end that they shulde the better knowe thy great liberalitie, so that they might be the more ready to serve and glorifie thee with the same: So contrariwise, when we have il behaved ourselves in offending thy Majestie, thou hast accustomed to admonish us, and call us unto thee by divers and sundry chastisements, through the

which it hath pleased thy goodnes to subdue and tame our fraile flesh: but especially by the grievous plagues of sicknes and diseases, using the same as a meane to awake and stirre up the great dulnes and negligence that is in us all, and advertising us of our evil life by such infirmities and dangers, especially when as they threaten the very death; which (as assured messingers of the same) are all to the flesh ful of extreme anguish and torments, although they be, notwithstanding, to the spirit of the elect as medicines bothe good and wholesome; for by them thou doest move us to returne unto thee for our salvation, and to cal upon thee in our afflictions, to have thine helpe, which art our deare and loving Father.

In consideration whereof, we most earnestly praye unto thee our good God, that it wolde please thine infinite goodnes to have pitie on this thy poore creature, whome thou hast, as it were, bound and tyed to the bed by most grievous sickenes, and brought to great extremitie by the heavines of thine hand.

O Lord! enter not into a compt with him, to render the rewarde due unto his workes; but throw thine infinite mercy remitte all his faultes, for the which thou hast chastised him so gently, and beholde rather the obedience which thy deare Sonne Jesus Christ our Lorde hath rendred unto thee; to wit, the sacrifice which it pleased thee to accept as a full recompense for all the iniquities of them that receive him for their justice and sanctification, yea, for their onelie Saviour.

Let it please thee, O God! to give him a true zeale and affection to receive and acknowledge him for his onlie Redeemer; to the end also that thou mayest receive this sicke person to thy mercie, qualifying al the troubles which his sinnes, the horror of death and dreadful feare of the same, may bring to his weake conscience. Neither suffer thou, O Lord, the assautes of the mightie adversarie to prevaile, or to take from him the comfortable hope of salvation, which thou givest to thy dearely beloved children.

And forasmuche as we are all subject to the like state and condition, and to be visited with like battel when it shal please thee to call us unto the same; we beseech thee most humbly, O Lord, with this thy poore creature whome thou now presently chastisest, that thou wilt not extend thy rigorous judgment against him, but that thou wouldest vouchsafe to shewe him thy mercie, for the love of thy deare Sonne, Jesus Christ our Lord: who, having suffered the moste shameful and extreame death of the crosse, bare willingly the faute of this poore patient, to the end that thou mightest acknowledge him as one redeemed with his precious blood, and received into the communion of his body, to be participant of eternal felicitie in the companie of thy blessed Angels. Wherefore, O Lord, dispose and move his heart to receave by thy grace, with all mekenes, this gentle and fatherlie correction which thou hast layed upon him; that he may indure it paciently, and with willing obedience, submitting himself with heart and minde to thy blessed wil and favourable mercie, wherein thou now visitest him after this sorte for his profit and salvation. It may please thy goodnes, O Lord! to assist him in all his anguishes and troubles: and although the tongue and voice be not able to execute their office in this behalf to set foorthe thy glorie, that yet at least thou wilt stirre up his heart to aspire unto thee onely, which art the onelie fountaine of goodnes; and that thou fast roote and settle in his heart the swete promises which thou hast made unto us, in Christ Jesus, thy Sonne our Saviour, to the intent he may remaine constant against all the assautes and tumultes which the enemie of our salvation may raise up to trouble his conscience.

And seing it hath pleased thee, that, by the death of thy dear Sonne, life eternal shuld be communicated unto us, and by the shedding of his blood the washing of our sinnes shulde be declared, and that by his Resurrection also, both justice and immortalitie shulde be given us; it may please thee to applie

this holie and holesome medicine to this thy poore creature in such extremitie, taking from him all trembling and dreadful feare, and to give him a stoute courage in the middes of all his present adversiteis.

And forasmuche as all things, O heavenly Father, be knowen unto thee, and thou canst, according to thy good pleasure, minister unto him all suche things as shal be necessarie and expedient; let it please thee, O Lord, so to satisfie him by thy grace, as may seme most mete unto thy Divine Majestie.

Receive him, Lord, into thy protection, for he hath his recourse and accesse to thee alone; and make him constant and firme in thy commandements and promises: and also pardon all his sinnes, both secret and those which are manifest; by the which he hath moste grievously provoked thy wrath and severe judgements against him; so as in place of death (the which both he and all we have justly merited), thou wilt graunt unto him that blessed life, which we also attend and loke for by thy grace and mercie.

Nevertheles, O heavenly Father, if thy good pleasure be that he shal yet live longer in this worlde, it may then please thee to augment in him thy graces, so as the same may serve unto thy glorie: yea, Lord, to the intent he may conforme himself the more diligently, and with more carefulnes, to the example of thy Sonne Christ Jesus; and that in renouncing him self, he may cleave fully unto him, who, to give consolacion and hope unto all sinners, to obteine remission of all their sinnes and offences, hath caried with him into the heavens the theefe which was crucified with him upon the crosse.

But if the time by thee appoynted be come, that he shall departe from us unto thee, make him to feele in his conscience, O Lord, the frute and strength of thy grace; that thereby he may have a new taste of thy fatherlie care over him from the beginning of his life unto the very end of the same, for the love of thy deare Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord.

Give him thy grace, that with a good heart, and full assurance of faith, he may receive to his consolation so great and excellent a treasure: to wit, the remission of his sinnes in Christ Jesus thy Sonne, who now presenteth him to this poore persone in distres, by the vertue of thy promises reveiled unto him by thy worde, which he hath exercised with us in thy Church and congregation, and also in using the Sacraments, which thou therein hast established for confirmation of all their faith that trust in thee unfainedly.

Let true faith, O Lord, be unto him as a most sure buckler, thereby to avoyde the assautes of death, and more boldely walke for the advancement of eternal life; to the end that he, having a most livelie apprehension thereof, may rejoyce with thee in the heavens eternally.

Let him be under thy protection and governance, O heavenly Father; and although he be sicke, yet thou canst heale him; he is cast downe, but thou canst lift him up; he is sore troubled, but thou canst send redresse; he is weak, thou canst send strength he acknowledgeth his uncleannes, his spots, his filthines, and iniquities, but thou canst wash him and make him cleane: he is wounded, but thou canst minister most sovereigne salves; he is fearful and trembling, but thou canst give him good courage and boldnes: To be short, he is, as it were utterly lost, and as a strayed shepe; but thou canst cal him home to thee againe. Wherefore, O Lord, seeing that this poore creature (thine owne workmanship) resigneth himself wholly into thy hands, receave him into thy merciful protection. Also we poore miserable creatures, which are, as it were, in the field, ready to fight till thou withdraw us from the same, vouchesafe to strengthen us by thine Holie Spirit, that we may obtaine the victorie in thy name against our deadlie and mortal enemie; and furthermore, that the affliction and the combat of this thy poore creature in most grievous torments, may move us to humble ourselves with all reverent feare and trembling under

thy mightie hand, knowing that we must appeare before thy judgement seat, when it shal please thee so to appoint. But, O Lord, the corruption of our fraile nature is such, that we are utterly destitute of any meane to appeare before thee, except it please thee to make us suche as thou thy self requirest us to be; and further, that thou give us the spirit of meknes and humilitie, to rest and stay wholly on those things which thou onely commandest.

But forasmuche as we be all together unworthy to enjoy such benefites, we beseche thee to receive us in the name of thy deare Sonne our Lord and Master, in whose death and satisfaction standeth wholy the hope of our salvation.

It may also please thee, O Father of comfort and consolation, to strengthen with thy grace those which imploy their travel and diligence to the ayding of this sicke persone, that they faint not by overmuch and continual labour, but rather to go heartilie and cherefully forwarde in doing their indevours towardes him: and if thou take him from them, then of thy goodnes to comfort them, so as they may paciently beare suche departing, and prayse thy Name in all things. Also, O heavenly Father, vouchesafe to have pitie on all other sicke persons, and such as be by any other wayes or means afflicted, and also on those who as yet are ignorant of thy trueth, and apperteine nevertheless unto thy kingdome.

In like manner on those that suffer persecution, tormented in prisones, or otherwise troubled by the enemies of the veritie, for bearing testimonie to the same. Finally, on all the necessities of thy people, and upon all the ruins or decayes which Satan hath brought upon thy Church. O Father of mercy! spread forth thy goodnes upon all those that be thine; that we, forsaking our selves may be the more inflamed and confirmed, to rest onely upon thee alone. Graunt these our requestes, O our deare Father, for the love of thy deare Sonne our Saviour Jesus Christ; who liveth and reigneth with

thee in unitie of the Holy Ghost, true God, for evermore. So be it.

Of Buryall.

The corps is reverently brought to the grave, accompanied with the Congregation, without any further ceremonies: which being buryed, the Minister if he be present, and required, goeth to the Church, if it be not farre of, and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people, touching death and resurrection.

The Ordre of the Ecclesiastical Discipline.

As no citie, towne, house or familie . . . . may lawfully beare.

(See vol. iv. pp. 203-206.)

Matth. xviii. "If any refuse to heare the Congregation, let him be as an heathen, and as a publicane."

WILLIAM STEWART[1]

TO THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

SONNET.

THOU LITLE CHURCH, TO WHOM CHRIST HATH RESTORDE
THE CLEARE LOST LIGHT OF HIS EVANGEL PURE:
THY GOD DOTH WITH ALL DILIGENCE PROCURE
THAT WITH HIS WORDE, THOU MAIST BE STIL DECORDE.

THOGH THOU HAVE LONG HIS WHOLESOME TRUETH ABHORDE,
YET HIS GREAT MERCIES DID THY BLINDNES CURE,
SUBMITTING THEE UNTO THE CAREFUL CURE
OF SUCHE PASTOURS, AS TRUELY TEACHE HIS WORDE.

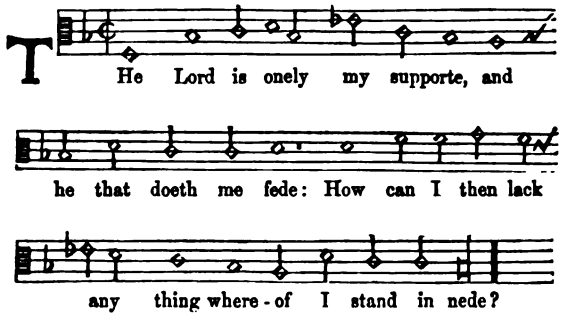
OUT OF WHOSE HANDS, (WITH GREAT THANKS,) NOW RECEIVE
ALL DAVID'S PSALMES SET FOORTH IN PLEASANT VERSE:
A GREATER GIFT OF THEM THOU COULDST NOT CRAVE,
WHOSE ENDLES FRUTE MY PEN CAN NOT REHEARSE:
FOR HERE THOU HAST, FOR EVERIE ACCIDENT
THAT MAY OCCURRE, A DOCTRINE PERTINENT.

[1] From the edition of the "Forme of Prayers and Psalmes," printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik in 1565. This Sonnet is omitted by Bassandyne in 1575, and in later editions; if we except the English reprints mentioned at page 281. The author of the Sonnet is described in 1565, and again in 1566-7, as Ross Herald, in the Accounts of the Collector-General of the Thirds of Benefices, where we find that the annual sum of £133, 6s. 8d. was paid to "William Stewarte Ross Herald, translater of sic werkes in the Kirk as is necessar for edifing of the people." There is some uncertainty regarding Stewart's subsequent fate.

PSALMES OF DAVID
IN ENGLISH METER.

PSALME XXIII. Tho. Ster.—[W. Whittingham.][1]

From the edition printed at Edinburgh 1565.



2 He doeth me folde in cottes most safe,
the tender grasse fast by:
And after drioeth me to the streames,
which runne moste pleasantly.

3 And when I fele my self nere loste,
Then doeth he me home take,
Conducting me in his right paths,
euen for his owne names sake.

4 And thogh I were euen at deaths dore,
yet wolde I feare none il:
For why thy rodde and shepherds croke
I am conforted still.

5 Thou haste my table richely deckt,
in despite of my foe:
Thou haste mine head with baume refresht,
my cuppe doeth ouerfloe.
And finally while breth doeth last,
thy grace shal me defende:
And in the house of God will I
my life for ever spende.

---

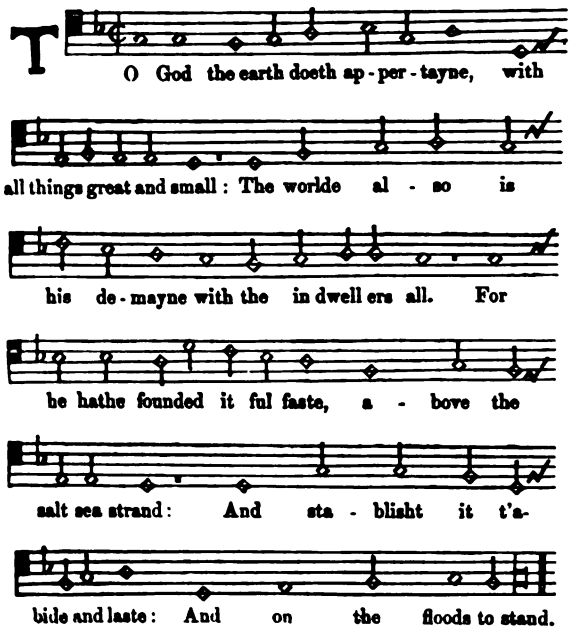
[1] In the English Psalters printed by Daye there are two versions of this Psalm, that by Sternhold being quite different from the above, which is there rightly attributed to Whittingham. In the black-letter edition of 1578, the first and second verses are thus rendered into Scottish orthography:—

1 The Lord is only my support,
and he that dois me feid:
How can I than want ony thing,
quhairof I stand in neid.

2 He dois me fald in coittis maist saue,
the tender grass fast by:
And efter drynes me to the stremes
quhilk ryn maist pleasandly.

Psalme xxiv. I. C.

From the edition printed at Edinburgh 1565.



3 Now who is he that shal up go
into God's holy hil,
And in his holy place also
who shal continue stil.

4 The man whose hands no wrong hath wroght,
whose heart is pure and neat:
Whose minde for vanitie not soght,
nor sworne hathe with deceit.

5 He that is suche the Lord wil send
his blessings him upon,
And righteousnes unto him lende
shal God his salvation.

6 This is the stocke and offrings eke,
of those which search for thee:
Of them O Lord that thy face seke
who true Isralites be.

7 Exalt your heades ye Gates on hie,
ye doores that last for aye,
Be lift: so the King of glorie
shal through you make his waye.

8 Who is this King so glorious?
the strong and mightie Lord,
Even he that is victorious
in battels tride by sword.

9 Exalt your heads ye Gates on hie,
ye doores that last for aye:
Be lifte; so the King of glorie
shal through you make his waye.

10 Who is this glorious King, I saye
the Lord of hostes moste hie,
Even he is King and shalbe aye:
of everlasting glorie.

PSALME LVII. R. Po.

(*From edition Edinburgh* 1565.)

1 Be mercifull to me, ô God,
be merciful to me:
For why? my soule in all assaultes,
shall ever trust in thee,
And till these wicked stormes be past,
which ryse on everie syde:
Under the shaddowe of thy wings,
my hope shal alwayes byde.

2 I will therefore call to the Lord,
who is moste high alone:
To God who will his worke in me,
bring to perfection.

. . . . . .

(*From edition Edinburgh c.* 1578.)

1 Be mercifull to me, O God,
be mercifull to me
For quhy? my saull in all assaultis
sall ever traist in the.
And till thir wickit stormes be past,
quhilk ryse on every side:
Under the schaddow of thy wingis,
my hope sall alwayis byde.

2 I will thairfoir call to the Lord,
quha is maist heich alone:
To God, quha will his wark in me,
bring to perfection.
3 He will send down from hevin above
to save me and restoir:
From the rebukis of wickit men,
that faine wald me devoir.

God will his mercy surely send
and constant treuth also:
To comfort me, and to defend,
aganis my cruell fo.
4 Allace to lang my saull dois ly
amangis thir lyounis kene:
That rage and fume lyke flame of fyre,
the sonnes of men I mene.

Quhais teith ar lyke the groundin speir,
lyke arrowis ar thair wordis:
And eik thair toungis in forgeing leis
ar schairp as ony swordis.
5 Exalt thy self, O God, thairfoir
above the hevins hicht:
And over all the eirth declair
thy glorie and thy micht.

6 To trap my steps quhair I suld pas
a snair thay did lay out:
My saull wes pressit down for feir
quhilk compast me about.
Befoir me they did digge and cast,
a deip and ugly pit:
Zit they now fallen ar at last,
them selfis in middis of it.

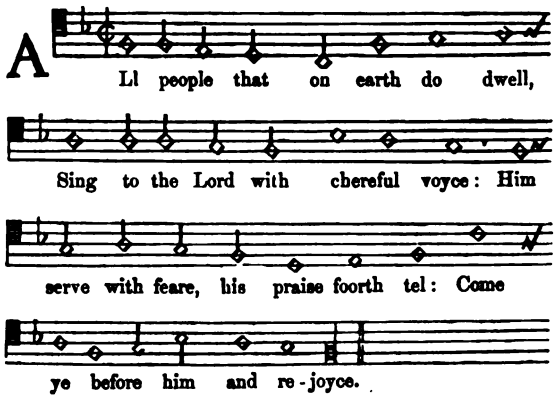
7 My hart is reddy bent, O God,
my hart is reddy bent:
I will sing sangis, and psalmes of praise
to the I will present.
8 Awalk my toung my greit delyte
my viole and my harp:
I will get up by brek of day
and of my God will carp.

9 I will the praise, O Lord of micht,
the pepill all amang:
And eik amid the natiouns greit,
of the salbe my sang.
10 For thy gudeness is wondrous greit
and to the hevins dois reiche:
The cloudes and elementis above,
thy faithfulnes do preiche.

11 Exalt thy self, O Lord, thairfoir
above the hevins hicht:
And over all the eirth declair,
thy glorie and thy micht.

Psalme C. W. Ke.

(*From edition Edinburgh* 1565.)



3 The Lord, ye knowe, is God in dede,
Without our aide, he did us make:
We are his flocke: he doth us fede,
And for his shepe he doth us take.

4 Oh, enter then his gates with praise,
Approche with joye his courtes unto:
Praise, laude, and blesse his name alwayes,
For it is semely so to do.

5 For why? the Lord our God is good:
His mercy is for ever sure:
His treuth at all tymes firmely stoode,
And shal from age to age indure.

The Same.

(*From edition Edinburgh c.* 1578.)

Al pepill that on eirth do dwell,
Sing to the Lord with cheirfull voce:
Him serve with feir, his praise forth tell:
Cum ze befoir him and rejoice.

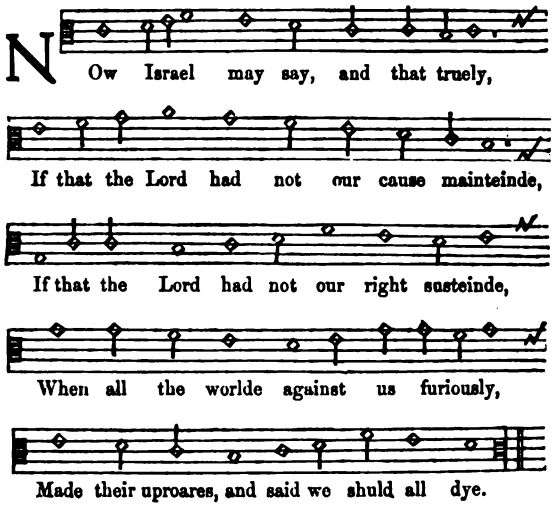
3 The Lord, ze knaw, is gude in deid,
Without our aide he did us mak:
We ar his folk: he dois us feid,
And for his scheip he dois us tak.

4 Och, enter then his gaitis with praise,
Approche with joy his Courtis unto:
Praise, laude, and blys his 'Name alwayis,
For it is semelie so to do.

5 For quhy? the Lord our God is gude;
His mercy is for ever sure:
His trueth at all tymes firmelie stude,
And sall from age to age indure.

Psalme Cxxiiii. W. Whit.

(*From edition Edinburgh* 1565.)



3 Now long ago
they had devourde us all,
And swallowde quicke,
for ought that we coulde deme:
Suche was their rage,
as we might wel esteme.

4 And as the floods,
with mightie force do fall,
So had they now
our lyfe even brought to thrall.

5 The raging streames,
moste proude in roaring noyce:
Had long ago
overwhelmde us in the depe;

6 But loved be God,
which doth us safely kepe;
From bloodie teeth,
and their moste cruel voyce,
Quhilk as a preye,
to eat us wolde rejoyce.

7 Even as the birde
out of the foulers gren;
Escapth away,
right so it farth with us:
Broke are their nettes,
and we have scaped thus.[1]

8 God that made heaven
and earth, is our helpe then:
His Name hath saved
us from these wicked men.

---

[1] In the edition Edinburgh c. 1575, these lines read,—

Evin as the birde | out of the Fowlers girne
Eschaipis away, | richt sa it fairs with us.
Broke ar thair nettis | and we haif chaipit thus.

Psalme cxlv. I. C.

(*From edition Edinburgh c.* 1578.)

O Lord, that art my God and king,
Undoutedly I will the praise,
I will extoll and blyssingis sing,
Unto thine haly Name alwayis.
2 From day to day I will the blys,
And laude thy name warld without end
3 For greit is God maist worthy praise,
Quhais greitnes nane may comprehend.

4 Race sal thy warkis praise unto race
And sa declair thy power, O Lord,
5 The glorious bewtie of thy grace
And wondrous warkis will I record.
6 And all man sall thy power (O God)
Of all thy feirfull actis declair:
And I to publische all abrod,
Thy greitnes at na tyme will spair.

7 They sall brek out to mentioun
And specifie thy greit gudenes:
And with loud voice their sangis ilk one,
Sall frame to schaw thy richteousnes.
8 The Lord our God is gracious,
Zea mercyfull is he also:
In mercy he is plentious,
Bot unto wraith and anger slowe.

9 The Lord to all men is bening,
Quhais mercyis al his warkis exceid.
10 Thy warkis ilkane thy praises sing,
And eik thy sanctis thee blys in deid.
11 The glorie of thy kingdome thay
Do schaw and of thy power do tell.
12 That sa mens sonis his micht knaw may,
And kingdome greit that dois excell.

13 Thy kingdome hes na end at all,
Thy Lordschip ever dois remaine.
14 The Lord uphaldis all that fall,
And dois the febill folke sustaine.
15 The eyis of all thingis, Lord, attend,
And on the wait, that heir do live:
And thou in seasoun dew dois send,
Sufficient fude them to relive.

16 Zea, thow thine hand dois opin wide
And everie thing dois satisfie,
That live (and on this eirth abyde)
Of thy greit liberalitie.
17 The Lord is just in his wayis all,
And haly in his warkis ilkone.
18 At hand to all that on him call
In trueth, that call to him alone.

19 The Lord will the desyre fulfill
Of sic as do him feir and dreid:
And he also their cry heir will,
And save them in the tyme of neid.
20 He dois preserve them mair and les,
That beir to him a loving hart,
Bot wirkers all of wickidnes
Distroy will he and clene subvert.

21 My mouth theirfoir my speiche sall frame
To speik the praises of the Lord:
All fleesche to blys his haly name,
For ever mair eik sall accord.

TRANSLATION OF CALVIN'S CATECHISM.

Note of early Editions.

1. THE CATE | CHISME OR MANER | TO TEACHE CHILDREN THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, | WHEREIN THE MINISTER DEMANDETH THE QUE | STION, AND THE CHILDE MAKETH ANSWERE. | MADE BY THE EXCELLENT DOCTOR AND PASTOR | IN CHRISTES CHURCHE CHURCHE, IOHN CALVIN.

   (Same woodcut as in vol. iv. p. 149.)

   By JOHN CRESPIN. M.D.LVI. 12mo, pp. 167.

2. THE CATECHISME, ETC. (as above.) (Printed at Geneva.)

   By ZACHARIE DVRAND. MD.LXI. 16mo, 103 leaves.

3. THE CATECHISME, ETC. (as above.) (No place of printing.) 1561. 12mo, from folio 36-84, of "The Forme of Prayers," etc., and 8 leaves not numbered.

   (See vol. iv. p. 153.)

4. THE CATE | CHISME OR MA | NER TO TEACHE CHILDREN THE | CHRISTIAN RELI | GION. | * | Wherein the Minister demandeth the | Question, and the Chylde maketh | answere: made by the excellent Do | ctor and Pastor in Christs Churche, | Iohn Caluin. | Ephes. 2. | The doctrine of the Apostles and Pro- | phetes is the foundation of | Christs Church. |

   Imprinted at Edinbrough by me | Robert Lekpriuik. | 1564. | Cum Priuilegio. | Small 8vo, pp. 181.

5. THE CATECHISME, ETC. (as above, with the woodcut given at p. 291.) Printed by Thomas Bassandyne, dwelling at the nether Bow. M.D.LXXV. 12mo, pp. 192.

THE RESTE OF THE FIRSTE TABLE FOR THE PRAYERS.

(From the edition at Geneva 1561, 16mo. Nos. 1 to 10 same as at p. 288, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 14, 15, and 16.)

11 The Psalmes of David in meter, ... 000
12 The Catechisme of M. Calvin, ... 000
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PRINTED AT GENEVA.

M.D.LXI.

(From Bassandyne's Edition 1575.)

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PRAYERS, ETC.

SUBJOYNED TO CALVIN'S CATECHISM.

EDINBURGH, IN THE YEAR 1564.

THE MANER TO EXAMINE CHILDREN, BEFORE THEY BE ADMITTED TO THE SUPPER OF THE LORD.

The Minister.

In whome doest thou beleve?

The Childe.

I beleve in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Sonne, and in the Holie Ghost, and loke to be saved by none other meanes.

M. The Father, the Sonne, and the Holie Ghost, be they any more then one God?

C. No, although they be distinct in persones.

M. What is the effect of thy faith?

C. That God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (and so by him of us all) is the beginning and principal cause of all things, the which he governeth in suche sorte, that nothing can be done without his ordinance and providence. Next, that Jesus Christ, his Sonne, came downe into this worlde, and accomplished all things which were necessarie for our salvation: and ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, that is, that he hath all power in heaven and in earth, and shal come againe from thence to judge the whole worlde. Furthermore, that the Holy Ghost is very God, because he is the

vertue and power of God, and printeth in our hearts the promises made unto us in Jesus Christ; and finally, that the Church is sanctified and delivered from their sinnes, through the mercies of God, and shal after this life rise againe to life everlasting.

M. Must we serve God according as he hath commanded? or els as men's traditions teache us?

C. We must serve him as he hath taught us by his worde and commandements, and not according to the commandements of men.

M. Canst thou kepe God's commandements of thy self?

C. No verely.

M. Who then doeth kepe and fulfil them in thee?

C. The Holie Gost.

M. When God then giveth thee his Holie Ghost, canst thou perfectly observe them?

C. No; not so.

M. Why? God doeth curse and reject all suche as do not everie point fulfill his commandements.

C. It is true.

M. By what meanes then shalt thou be saved, and delivered from the curse of God?

C. By the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

M. How so?

C. For because that by his death he hath restored us to life, and reconciled us to God his Father.

M. To whom doest thou make thy prayers?

C. I pray to God in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, our Advocate and Mediator, referring all my prayers to that scope which Christ our Saviour hath left us as a moste sufficient and absolute rule.

M. How many Sacraments are there in Christ's Church?

C. Two: Baptisme and the Lord's Supper.

M. What is ment by Baptisme?

C. First, it signifieth that we have forgivenes of our sinnes by the blood of Christ; secondly, it setteth before our eyes our regeneration or new spiritual birth.

M. What signifieth the Supper of the Lord?

C. That by the spiritual eating and drinking of the bodie and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, our soules are nourished unto life everlasting.

M. What do the bread and wine represent in the Lord's Supper?

C. That as our bodies are nourished therewith, so our souls are sustained and nourished with the vertue of Christ's bodie and blood; not that they are inclosed in the bread and wine, but we must seke Christ in heaven in the glorie of God his Father.

M. By what meanes may we atteine unto him there?

C. By faith which God's Spirit worketh in our hearts, assuring us of God's promises made to us in his holie gospel.

A FORME OF PRAYERS TO BE USED IN PRIVATE HOUSES EVERIE MORNING AND EVENING.

Morning Prayer.

Almightie God, and most merciful Father, we do not[1] presente our selves here before thy Majestie, trusting in our owne merites or worthines, but in thy manifolde mercies, which hast promised to heare our prayers and[2] graunt our requestes, which we shall make to thee, in the name of thy beloved Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord, who hath also commanded us to assemble our selves together in his[3] Name, with ful assurance that he wil not onely be among us, but also be our Mediator and Advocate towardes thy Majestie, that we may[4] obteine all things which

[1] Dan. 9. [2] John 16. [3] Mat. 18. [4] 1 Tim. 2; 1 John 3.

shal seme expedient to thy blessed wil for our necessities. Therefore we beseche thee, most merciful Father, to turne thy loving countenance towardes us, and[1] impute not unto us our manifolde sinnes and offenses, whereby we justly deserve thy wrath and sharpe punishment; but rather receave us to thy mercie for Jesus Christ's sake, accepting his death and passion as a just recompence for all our offenses,[2] in whom onely thou art pleased, and through whom thou canst not be offended with us.

And seing that of thy great mercies we have quietlie passed this night, graunt, O heavenlie Father, that we may bestowe this day wholly in thy service, so that all our[3] thoughts, wordes, and dedes may redounde to the glorie of thy Name, and good ensample to all men, who, seeing our good workes, may glorifie thee our heavenly Father. And forasmuche as of thy mere favour and love, thou hast not onely created us to thine owne[4] similitude and likenes, but also hast chosen us to be heires with thy deare Sonne Jesus Christ, of that immortal kingdome which thou preparedst for us before the beginning of the worlde, we beseche thee to increase[5] our faith and knowledge, and to lighten our hearts with thine holie Spirit, that we may in the meane time live in godlie conversation and integritie of life, knowing that[6] idolaters, adulterers, covetous men, contentious persons, drunkardes, gluttons, and suche like, shal not inherit the kingdome of God.

(·.·) And because thou hast commanded us to pray one for another, we do not onely make request, O Lord, for our selves and them that thou hast alreadie called to the true understanding of thine heavenlie wil, but for all people and[7] nations of the world, who, as they know by thy wonderful works, that thou art God over all, so they may be instructed by thine holie Spirit to beleve in thee their onlie Saviour and Redeemer.

[1] Psal. 32. [2] 2 John 2, 3. [3] Colo. 3. [4] Gene. 2. [5] Luk. 17. [6] Gal. 5. [7] Act 10; 1 Tim. 2.

But forasmuche as they cannot[1] beleve except they heare, nor can not heare but by preaching, and none can preache except they be sent, therefore, O Lord, raise up faithful distributers of thy mysteries, who, setting aparte all worldlie respects, may, both in their life and doctrine, onely seke thy glorie. Contrarily confound[2] Satan, Antichrist, with all hirelings and Papists, whom thou hast alreadie cast off into a reprobate sense, that they may not by sectes, schismes, heresies, and errours, disquiet thy litle flocke. And because, O Lord, we be fallen into the latter dayes, and[3] dangerous times, wherein ignorance hath gotten the upper hand, and Satan with his ministers seke by all meanes to quenche the light of thy Gospel, we beseche thee to mainteine thy cause against those[4] ravening wolves, and strengthen all thy servants whom they kepe in prison and bondage. Let not thy long suffering be an occasion either to increase their tyrannie, or to discourage thy children, neither yet let our sinnes and wickednes be an hindrance to thy mercies, but with spede, O Lord, consider the great miseries and afflictions of thy poore Church, which, in sundrie places, by the rage of enemies, is grievouslie tormented; and this we confesse, O Lord, to come most justely for our sinnes, which (notwithstanding thy manifolde benefites, whereby thou doest daily allure us to love thee, and thy sharpe threatnings, whereby we have occasion to feare thee, and spedely to repent) yet continue in our owne wickednes, and fele not our hearts so touched with that displeasure of our sins as we ought to do. Therefore, O Lord, creat in us new hearts, that with fervent mindes we may bewaile our manifolde sinnes, and earnestly repent us for our former wickednes and ungodly behaviour towardes thee; and whereas we can not of our selves purchase thy pardon,[5] yet we humbly beseche thee, for Jesus Christs sake, to shewe thy mercies upon us, and receave us againe to thy favour. Grant

[1] Rom. 10. [2] 2 Tim. 3. [3] Rom. 7; 1 Cor. 3; Luke 17.
[4] Rom. 16. [5] Matt. 7.

us, deare Father, these our requestes, and all other things necessarie for us and thy whole Church, according to thy promise in Jesus Christ our Lord; in whose Name we beseche thee, as he hath taught us, saying, Our Father, &c.

A Prayer to be said before Meales.

All things depend upon thy providence,[1] O Lord, to receave at thine hands due sustenance in time convenient. Thou givest to them, and they gather it; thou openest thine hand, and they are satisfied with all good things.

O heavenlie Father, which art the fountaine and full treasure of all goodnes,[2] we beseche thee to shewe thy mercies upon us thy children, and sanctifie these giftes which we receave of thy merciful liberalitie, granting us grace to use them[3] soberly and purely, according to thy blessed wil; so that hereby we may acknowledge thee to be the autor and giver of all good things; and, above all, that we may remembre continually to seeke[4] the spiritual foode of thy worde, wherewith our soules may be nourished everlastingly through our Saviour Christ, who is the true[5] bread of life which came downe from heaven, of whome, whosoever eateth, shall live for ever, and reigne with him in glorie, worlde without end. So be it.

A Thankesgiving after Meales.

Let all nations magnifie the Lord; let all people rejoyce, in praysing and extolling his mercies;[6] for his fatherlie kindnes is plentifully shewed foorth upon us, and the trueth of his promise indureth for ever.

We render thankes unto thee, O Lord God, for the manifolde benefites[7] which we continually receave at thy bountiful hande, not onely for that it hath pleased thee to feed us in this present

[1] Psal. 104. [2] 2 Tim. 4. [3] Tit. 2. [4] John 6. [5] John 6. [6] Psal. 117. [7] Col. 3.

life, giving unto us all things necessarie for the same, but especially because thou hast of thy free mercies[1] facioned us new into an assured hope of a farre better life, the which thou hast[2] declared unto us by thine holie Gospel. Therefore, we humblie beseche thee, O heavenly Father, that thou wilt not suffer our affections to be[3] so intangled or rooted in these earthlie and corruptible things, but that we may alwayes have our mindes directed to thee on[4] high, continually watching for the comming[5] of our Lord and Saviour Christ,[6] what time he shal appeare for our ful redemption. To whome, with thee and the Holie Ghost, be all honour and glorie, for ever and ever. So be it.

Another Thankesgiving before Meate.

Eternal and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of thy most singular love which thou bearest to mankinde, hast appointed to his sustenance not onely the frutes of the earth, but also the foules of the ayre and beastes of the earth, and fishes of the sea, and hast commanded thy benefites to be received as from thine handes with thankesgiving, assuring thy children by the mouth of thine Apostle, that to the cleane all things are cleane, as the creatures which be sanctified by the worde[7] and by prayer; graunt unto us so moderately to use these thy giftes present, that the bodies being refreshed, the soules may be more able to procede in all good workes, to the praise of thine holie Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. So be it. Our Father which art, &c.

Another.

The eyes of all things do loke up and trust in thee, O Lord.[8] Thou givest them meat in due season; thou openest thine hand and fillest with thy blessings everie living creature. Good Lord,

[1] Rom. 8; Tit. 3.
[2] 2 Tim. 1.
[3] 1 Joh. 2.
[4] 1 Tim. 2.
[5] 1 Cor. 1.
[6] Rom. 8.
[7] Tit. 1; Act. 10.
[8] Psal. 104.

blesse us and the giftes which we receive of thy large liberalitie, through Jesus Christ our Lord. So be it. Our Father, &c.

Another Thankesgiving after Meat.

Glorie, praise, and honor be unto thee, moste merciful and omnipotent Father, who of thine infinite goodnes hast created man to thine owne image and similitude; who also hast fed, and daily feedest of thy moste bountiful hand all living creatures, graunt unto us that as thou hast nourished these our mortall bodies with corporal foode, so thou woldest replenish our soules with the perfect knowledge of the livelie word of thy beloved Sone Jesus, to whom be praise, glorie, and honour, for ever. So be it.

God save the Church universall; God comfort them that be comfortles; Lord, increase our faith. O Lord, for Christ thy Sonnes sake, be merciful to the communewealths, where thy Gospel is truly preached, and harbour graunted to the afflicted membres of Christ's bodie, and illuminate, according to thy good pleasure, al nations with the brightnes of thy word. So be it.

Another.

The God of glorie and peace, who hath created, redeemed, and presently fedde us, be blessed for ever. So be it.

The God of all power, who hath called from death that great Pastor of the shepe, our Lord Jesus, comforte and defend the flocke which he hath redemed by the blood of the eternal Testament, increase the number of true preachers, represse the rage of obstinate tyrants, mitigate and lighten the hearts of the ignorant, releve the paines of such as be aflicted, but especially of those that suffer for the testimonie of his trueth, and finally confounde Satan by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

Evening Prayer.

O Lord God, Father everlasting and full of pitie, we acknowledge and confesse that we be not worthie to lift up our eyes to heaven,[1] much lesse to present our selves before thy Majestie with confidence that thou wilt heare our prayers and graunt our requestes, if we consider our owne deservings; for our consciences do accuse us, and our sinnes witnesse against us, and we knowe that thou art an upright judge, which doest not justifie the sinners and wicked men, but[2] punishest the fautes of all such as transgresse thy commandements. Yet, most merciful Father, since it hath pleased thee to[3] commande us to call on thee in all our troubles and adversities, promising even then to help us, when we feele our selves, as it were, swallowed up of death and[4] desperation, we utterly renounce all worldlie confidence, and flee to thy sovereigne bountie as our onlie stay and refuge, beseching thee not to call to[5] remembrance our manifolde sinnes and wickednes, whereby we continually provoke thy wrath and indignation against us; neither our negligence and unkindnes, which have neither worthely esteemed, nor in our lives sufficientlie expressed the sweet comfort of thy Gospel reveiled unto us, but rather to accept the obedience and death of thy Sonne Jesus Christ, who, by offerring up his bodie in[6] sacrifice once for all, hath made a sufficient recompense for all our sinnes. Have mercie, therefore, upon us, O Lord, and forgive us our[7] offences; teach us by thine holy Spirit that we may rightly weigh them, and earnestly repent for the same; and so much the rather, O Lord, because that the[8] reprobate, and such as thou hast forsaken, can not praise thee nor call upon thy Name, but the[9] repenting heart, the sorrowful minde, the conscience oppressed,[10] hungring and thirsting for thy grace, shall ever set foorth thy praise and glorie. And albeit we be

[1] Luk. 15.
[2] Exod. 2.
[3] Psal. 50.
[4] Psal. 18.
[5] Psal. 79.
[6] Heb. 9, 10.
[7] Psal. 19.
[8] Psal. 58.
[9] Psal. 5.
[10] Psal. 107.

but[1] wormes and dust, yet thou art our Creator, and we be the worke of thine handes; yea, thou art our Father, and we thy children;[2] thou art our shepherd, and we thy flocke; thou art our Redemer, and we thy people whome thou hast bought; thou art our God, and we thine inheritance.[3] Correct us not, therefore, in thine angre, O Lord, neither according to our desertes punish us, but mercifully chastise us with a fatherlie affection, that all the worlde may know that at what[4] time so ever a sinner doeth repent him of his sinne, from the bottome of his heart, thou wilt put away his wickednes out of thy remembrance, as thou hast promised by thine holie Prophet.

(.)[5] Finally, forasmuche as it hath pleased thee to make the night for man to rest in, as thou hast ordeined him the day to travel, grant, O deare Father, that we may so take our bodelie rest, that our soules may continually[6] watche for the time that our Lord Jesus Christ shal appeare for our deliverance out of this mortal life, and in the meane season that we, not overcome by any[7] fantasies, dreames, or other tentations, may fully set our minds upon thee, love thee, feare thee, and rest in thee; furthermore, that our slepe be not[8] excessive or overmuch after the insatiable desires of our flesh, but onely sufficient to content our weake nature, that we may be better disposed to live in all godlie conversation, to the glorie of thine holie Name and profit of our brethren. So be it.

A Prayer made at the first assemblie of the English Church at Geneva, when the Confession of Faith and whole Orders were there red and approved.

O Lord God Almightie . . . . and their assemblies.

(See vol. iv. p. 212.)

[1] Psa. 22. [2] 2 Cor. 6. [3] Iere. 10; Psal. 6. [4] Ezek. 18. [5] This marke directeth us to that parte of the Morning Prayer that is for increase of the Gospel; which also may be said here as time serveth.—[See *supra*, p. 346.] [6] Luke 12. [7] Mat. 6. [8] Luk. 21.

A COMPLAINT OF THE TYRANNIE USED AGAINST THE SAINCTES OF GOD, CONTEYNING A CONFESSION OF OUR SINNES, AND A PRAYER FOR THE DELIVERANCE AND PRESERVACION OF THE CHURCH. AND CONFUSION OF THE ENEMIES.

Eternal and everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hast commanded us to pray, and promised to heare us, even when we do call from the pit of desperation, the miseries of these our most wicked dayes, compel us to powre foorthe before thee the complaintes of our wretched hearts oppressed with sorowe. Our eyes do beholde, and our eares do heare the calamities and oppression, which no tongue can expresse, neither yet alas do our dull hearts rightly consider the same. For the heathen are entred into thine inheritance:[1] they have polluted thy Sanctuarie, prophaned and abolished thy blessed institutions, most cruelly murthered, and dayly do murther thy deare children. Thou hast exalted the arme and force of our enemies, thou hast exposed us to a prey, to ignominie and shame before suche as persecute thy treuth. Their wayes do prosper; they glorie in mischeif, and speake proudly against the honour of thy Name. Thou goest not foorthe as Captaine before our hostes. The edge of our sworde, which sometimes was moste sharpe, is nowe blunt, and doeth returne without victorie in battel.

It appeareth to our enemies, O Lord, that thou hast broken that league which of mercie and goodnes thou hast made with thy Church: For the libertie which they have to kil thy children like shepe, and to shed their blood, no man resisting, doeth so blinde and puffe them with pride, that they ashame not to affirme, that thou regardest not our intreating. Thy long suffring and pacience, maketh them bolde from crueltie to procede to the blasphemie of thy Name. And in the meane season, alas, we do not consider the heavines of our sinnes, which long have deserved at thine hands, not onely these temporal plagues, but also the tormentes prepared for the inobedient. For we knowing thy blessed wil, have not applied our dili-

[1] Psal. 79.

gence to obey the same, but have folowed, for the most parte, the vaine conversation of the blinde worlde: and therefore in very justice hast thou visited our unthankfulnea. But, O Lord, if thou shalt observe and kepe in minde for ever the iniquities of thy children, then shal no flesh abide, nor be saved in thy presence.[1] And therefore we, convicted in our owne conscience, that most justly we suffer, as punished by thine hand, do nevertheles call for mercie, according to thy promise. And first we desire to be corrected with the rodde of thy children, by the which we may be broght to a perfect hatred of sinne, and of our selves: and therefore, that it wolde please thee, for Christ Jesus thy Sonnes sake, to shewe to us and thy whole Church universally persecuted, the same favour and grace, that sometymes thou didest, when the chief membres of the same for anguish and feare, were compelled to cry: Why have the nacions raged?[2] why hath the people made uprores? and why have princes and kings conjured against thine anointed Christ Jesus? Then didest thou wonderfully assist and preserve thy smale and dispersed flocke: then didest thou burst up the barres and gates of yron: then didest thou shake the foundations of strong prisones: then didest thou plague the cruel persecuters; and then gavest thou some tranquillitie and rest, after those raging stormes and cruel afflictions.

O Lord, thou remainest one for ever: we have offended, and are unworthie of any deliverance; but worthie art thou to be a true and constant God, and worthie is thy deare Sonne Christ Jesus, that thou shouldest glorifie his Name, and revenge the blasphemie spoken against the trueth of his Gospel, which is by our adversaries damned, as a doctrine deceiveable and false: yea, the blood of thy Sonne is trodden under fete, in that the blood of his membres is shed for witnessing of thy trueth: and therefore, O Lord, behold not the unworthynes of us that call for the redresse of these enormities, neither let our imperfections stoppe thy mercies from us, but beholde the face of thine anointed

[1] Psal. 143. [2] Psal. 2; Actes 4.

Christ Jesus, and let the equitie of our cause prevaile in thy presence. Let the blood of thy Saintes which is shed, be openly revenged in the eyes of thy Church, that mortal men may knowe the vanitie of their counsels, and that thy children may have a taste of thine eternal goodnes. And seeing that from that man of sinne, that Romaine Antichrist, the chiefe adversarie to thy deare Sonne, doeth all iniquitie spring, and mischief procede: Let it please thy Fatherlie mercie more and more to reveile his deceit and tyrannie to the worlde: open the eyes of Princes and Magistrates, that clearly they may se how shamefully they have bene and are abused by his deceivable wayes, how by him they are compelled moste cruelly to sheade the blood of thy Saintes, and by violence, refuse thy new and eternal Testament, that they in deepe consideration of the grievous offences may unfainedly lament their horrible defection from Christ Jesus thy Sonne, from hence foorthe studying to promote his glorie in the dominions committed to their charges, that so yet once againe may the glorie of thy Gospel appeare to the worlde. And seing also that the chief strength of that odious beast consisteth in dissension of Princes, let it please thee, O Father, which hast claimed to thy selfe to be called the God of peace, to unite and knit in perfect love, the hearts of al those that loke for the life everlasting. Let no craft of Satan move them to warre one against another, neither yet to mainteine by their force and strength that kingdome of darkenes: but rather that godly they may conspire (illuminated by the word) to roote out from among them, all supersticion, with the mainteiners of the same.

These thy graces, O Lord, we unfainedly desire to be powred foorth upon all realmes and nations, but principally, according to that duetie which thou requirest of us, we moste earnestly require, that the hearts of the inhabitants of England and Scotland, whome the malice and craft of Satan and of his suppostes, of many yeeres have dissevered, may continue in that godlie unitie, which now of late it hath pleased thee to give them, being knit to-

gether in the unitie of thy word: open their eyes, that clearly they may beholde the bondage and miserie which is purposed against them both: and give unto them wisdome to avoide the same in suche sort, that in their godly concorde, thy name may be glorified, and thy dispersed flocke comforted and relieved.

The commune welthes, O Lord, where thy Gospell is truely preached, and harbour graunted to the afflicted members of Christs bodie, we commend to thy protection and mercie: Be thou unto them a defence and buckler: be thou a watchman to their walles, and a perpetual savegarde to their cities, that the craftie assautes of their enemies, repulsed by thy power, thy Gospel may have free passage from one nation to another: and let all Preachers and Ministers of the same have the giftes of thine Holie Sprit, in suche aboundance, as thy godly wisdome shall knowe to be expedient, for the perfect instruction of that flocke which thou hast redemed with the precious blood of thyne onely and welbeloved Sonne Jesus Christ: purge their hearts from all kinde of superstition, from ambition and vaine glorie, by which Satan continually laboreth to stirre up ungodly contention, and let them so consent in the unitie of thy trueth, that neither the estimacion which they have of men, nether the vaine opinions which they have conceived by their writings, prevaile in them against the cleare understanding of thy blessed worde.

And now last, O Lord, we most humbly beseche thee, according to that prayer of thy deare Sonne our Lord Jesus, so to sanctifie and confirme us in thine eternall veritie, that neither the love of life temporal, neither yet the feare of torments and corporal death, cause us to denie the same, when the confession of our Faith shall be required of us: but to assist us with the power of thy Sprite, that not onely boldely we may confesse thee, O Father of mercies, to be the true God alone, and whome thou hast sent, our Lord Jesus to be the only Saviour of the worlde, but also, that constantly we may withstand all doctrine repugning to thine eternal trueth, reveiled to us in thy most

blessed word. Remove from our hearts the blinde love of our selves, and so rule thou all the actions of our lyfe, that in us thy godly Name may be glorified, thy Church edified, and Satan finally confounded by the power and meanes of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whome with thee and the Holie Sprit, be all praise and glorie, before thy Congregations now and ever. So be it.

Arise, O Lord, and let thyne enemies be ashamed, let them flee from thy presence that hate thy godly Name; let the grones of thy prisoners entre in before thee, and preserve by thy power suche as be appointed to death: let not thyne enemies thus triumph to the end, but let them understand that against thee they fight. Preserve and defend the Vine which thy right hand hath planted, and let all nations se the glorie of thyne anointed.

Hasten Lord, and tary not.

A Godlie Prayer to be said at all Times.

Honour and praise be given to thee, O Lord God Almightie, moste deare Father of heaven, for all thy mercies and loving kyndenes shewed unto us, in that it hath pleased thy gracious goodnes, frely and of thyne owne accorde, to elect and chuse us to salvation before the beginning of the worlde: and even lyke continuall thankes be given to thee for creating us after thyne owne image; for redeming us with the precious blood of thy deare Sonne, when we were utterly lost; for sanctifying us with thyne Holy Spirit in the revelacion and knowledge of thine holy worde; for helping and succouring us in all our neds and necessities; for saving us from all dangers of bodie and soule; for comforting us so fatherly in all our tribulacions and persecutions; for sparing us so long, and giving us so large a tyme of repentance. These benefites, O moste mercyfull Father, lyke as we acknowledge to have received them of thyne onely goodnes, even so we beseche thee, for thy deare Sonne Jesus Christs sake, to graunt us alwayes thyne Holie Sprit, whereby we may continually growe in thankfulnes towardes thee, to be led

into all trueth, and comforted in all our adversities. O Lord, strengthen our faith: kindle it more in ferventnes, and love towardes thee, and our neighbours for thy sake. Suffer us not, moste deare Father, to receive thy worde any more in vaine, but grant us alwayes the assistance of thy grace and Holie Sprite, that in heart, worde, and dede, we may sanctifie and do worship to thy Name.

Helpe to amplifie and increase thy Kingdome, that whatsoever thou sendest, we may be heartly wel content with thy good pleasure and will. Let us not lacke the thing, O Father, without the which we can not serve thee: but blesse; thou so all the workes of our handes that we may have sufficient, and not to be chargeable, but rather helpfull unto others: be mercifull, O Lord, to our offences. And seing our dette is great, which thou hast forgiven us in Jesus Christ, make us to love thee, and our neighbours so muche the more. Be thou our Father, our Captaine and Defender in all tentations; holde thou us by thy mercyfull hand, that we may be delivered from all inconveniences, and end our lives in the sanctifying and honour of thine holie Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord and onely Saviour. So be it.

Let thy mightie hand and outstretched arme, O Lord, be stil our defence: thy mercie and loving kyndnes in Jesus Christ thy deare Sonne, our salvation: thy true and holie word our instruction: thy grace and Holie Sprite, our comfort and consolation unto the end, and in the end. So be it.

O Lord, increase our faith.

A Prayer to be said of the Childe, before he studie his Lesson.

Out of the 119. Psalme.—Wherein shal the Child addresse his way? in guiding himselfe according to thy worde. Open myne eyes, and I shal knowe the merveiles of thy Law. Give me understanding, and I shal kepe thy Law, yea I shal kepe it with mine whole heart.

Lord, which art the fountaine of all wisedome and knowledge, seing it hath pleased thee to give me the meane to be taught in my youth, for to learne to guide me godly and honestly all the course of my life; it may also please thee to lighten myne understanding (the which of it selfe is blinde), that it may comprehend and receive that doctrine and learning which shalbe taught me: it may please thee to strengthen my memorie te kepe it well; it may please thee also to dispose myne hearte willinglie to receive it with suche desire as apperteineth, so that by myne ingratitude, the occasion which thou givest me, be not lost. That I may thus do, it may please thee to powre upon me thyne Holie Sprit, the Sprit, I say, of all understanding, trueth, judgement, wisdome, and learning, the which may make me able so to profite, that the paines that shalbe taken in teaching me be not in vaine. And to what studie so ever I apply my selfe, make me, O Lord, to addresse it unto the right end: that is, to knowe thee in our Lord Jesus Christ, that I may have ful trust of salvation in thy grace, and to serve thee uprightly according to thy pleasure, so that whatsoever I learne, it may be unto me as an instrument to help me thereunto.

And seing thou dost promise to give wisdome to the lytle and humble ones, and to confounde the proude in the vanitie of their wits, and lykewise to make thy selfe knowen to them that be of an upright heart, and also to blynde the ungodly and wicked; I beseche thee to facion me unto true humilitie, so that I may be taught first to be obedient unto thee, and next unto my superiors, that thou hast appointed over me: further, that it may please thee to dispose mine heart unfeinedly to seke thee, and to forsake all evil and filthie lustes of the flesh: And that in this sorte, I may now prepare my selfe to serve thee once in that estate which it shal please thee to appoint for me, when I shal come to age.

Out of the 25 Psalme.—The Lord reveileth his secrets unto them that feare him, and maketh them to knowe his alliance.

A PRAYER TO BE SAID BEFORE A MAN BEGIN HIS WORKE.

O Lord God, moste merciful Father and Saviour, seing it hath pleased thee to command us to travel, that we may relieve our nede, we beseche thee of thy grace so to blesse our labour, that thy blessing may extend unto us, without the which we are not able to continue, and that this great favour may be a witnesse unto us of thy bountifulnes and assistance, so that thereby we may know the fatherlie care that thou hast over us. More over, O Lord, we besech thee, that thou wouldest strengthen us with thine Holy Sprite, that we may faithfully travel in our state and vocation without fraude or deceit: and that we may indevour our selves to followe thine holy ordinance, rather then to seke to satisfie our griedie affections or desire to gaine. And if it please thee, O Lord, to prosper our labour, give us a mynde also to help them that have nede, according to that abilitie that thou of thy mercy shalt give us, and knowing that all good things come of thee, graunt that we may humble our selves to our neighbours, and not by any meanes lyfte our selves up above them which have not received so liberal a portion, as of thy mercy thou hast given unto us. And if it please thee to trye and exercise us by greater povertie and nede then our flesh wolde desire, that thou woldest yet, O Lord, graunt us grace to knowe that thou wilt nourish us continually through thy bountiful liberalitie, that we be not so tempted, that we fall into distrust: but that we may paciently waite til thou fill us, not onely with corporal graces and benefites, but chiefly with thine heavenlie and spiritual treasures, to the intent that we may alwayes have more ample occasion to give thee thankes, and so wholy to rest upon thy mercies. Heare us, O Lord of mercie, through Jesus Christ thy Sonne our Lord. Amen.

ADDITIONAL PRAYERS, ETC.

NOT CONTAINED IN THE EDINBURGH VOLUME OF 1565.

THE FORME OF THE CONFESSION OF FAITH,[1] WHERUNTO AL SUBSCRIBE AS ARE RECEYVED TO BE SCHOLERS IN THE UNIVERSITIE OF GENEVA; and it is verye profitables[2] for all Townes, Parishes, and Congregations, to discernes[3] the true Christians from Anabaptistes, Libertines, Arrians, Papistes, and other Keretikes.[4]

I Protest that I wil follow and holde the Doctrine of Faith whiche is conteined in the Catechisme of this Church, and to submit my self to the Discipline which is establisched here: nether will I joyne myself or consent to any sects which might trouble the peace and union that God hath here aproved by his Word. And to declare this more at large, and to cut off all cavillations and shiftes, I Confesse that there is one God only to whom we muste cleave, to serve him and worshyp him, who is also our only trust and refuge. And althogh he be of a pure substance and unmixt, yet is he distinct into thre persones. Therfore I detest al heresies which were condemned aswel by the first Council of Nice, as by the first Council of Ephesus, and in that of Chalcidonia. Likwise all the errors

[1] It will be observed that this Confession, etc., is mentioned on the titlepage of the Edinburgh edition of 1562 (see vol. iv. p. 155), but it is not specified in the contents, nor is it found in the only copy of the volume that is known to exist. It is here given from the little volume as originally printed at Geneva 1561, of which only one perfect copy is known. See title, *supra*, p. 290.

[2 3 4] These words are so printed in the original edition. A few other obvious typographical errors have been corrected.

whiche have bene renued by Servet and his adherents, contentyng my self with this simplicitie, that in the only substance and essence of God there is the Father, who hath begotten from al eternitie his word, and hath also had alway his spirit in him selfe, and that every one of these persones hath his propertie in such sort, that the Divinitie remayneth still in his perfection and propre nature.

I Confesse, moreover, that God hath created not onely this visible worlde, to wit, the heaven and the earth, and all that is therin conteyned, but also the invisible spirites; wherof some have continued in the obedience of God, and the other have fallen into perdition throughe theyr owne malice. But the perseverance which the Angels had came by the fre election of God, who continued hys love and mercy towarde them, in gyving then invincible strength to persevere alwaye in goodnes. Wherfore I deteste the errour of the Maniches, whiche imagined that the devill was evill of nature, and had even hys originall and begynninge of him selfe.

I Confesse, also, that God hath so created the worlde once, that he is still the Governour therof, in suche sorte that no thynge is done or can come but by hys counsell and providence. And albeit the devill and the reprobate labour to bryng all thynges to confusion, yea, and the faithful by the fautes that they commit, pervert good ordre and justice, yet God hath the chief superioritie above all, and turneth the evyll into good; and howsoever it be, he disposeth and governeth all with a secret brydle, and after so wonderfull a facion, that we muste reverence it with all humilitie, because we are not able to comprehend it.

I Confesse, likewise, that man was created to God's image, in full perfection of hys Spirit, wil, and all partes, faculties, and powers of his soule, and that all the corruption and vice that is in him procedeth of that, that Adam, our father, did separate him selfe from God by his rebellion, and in leaving the foun-

taine of life and of all goodnes made him selfe sclave to all miserie; so that we are everie one borne in originall sinne, and are all accursed of God and damned frome our mother's wombe, not onely through another mantfaut, but for the wickednes that is in us, althogh it appeare not.

I Confesse, also, that originall sinne blindeth the Spirite and corrupteth the heart, so that we are deprived of all that apperteineth to life everlasting, insomuch as all our naturall gifts are depraved and defiled; whiche is the occasion that we can not have a good thoght nor motion to do well. Therefore I detest them whiche attribute to man any fre will to atteine unto vertue by, or to prepare our selves to be in the grace of God, or to helpe hym to worke as of our selves, and to further the vertue which is given to us by the Holie Spirit.

I Confesse, also, that by the inestimable goodnes of God, Jesus Christe was given into us for a remedie, to bring us frome death to lyfe, and to restore that whiche perished in Adam; and to accomplish this, he that was the eternal wisdome of God hys Father, and of the same substance, hathe put on our flesh; so that he was made God and man in one persone. Whereupon I renounce and detest al heresies which are contrarie to this principle, as of Marcion, Manes, Nestorious, Eutiches, and suche like; and also the fond fantasies that Servet and Schuengfeld went about to bring in and set up.

As touching the meane of our salvation, I Confesse that Jesus Christ, in his death and in his resurrection, hathe fully finished and accomplished al that was requisite to abolish and put away our sinnes, and to reconcile us to God his Father; and that he hathe overcome death and the devil, to the intent that we shuld enjoye the frute of his victorie; and also that he hathe received the Holie Gost in all abundance, for to distribute to everie one of his accordinge to the measure that he thinketh good.

I Confesse, therefore, that all our righteousnes, whereby we are agreable unto God, and whereon we must al together rest,

consisteth in the remission of sinnes, which he hath purchased unto us by the washing whiche we have by his blood, and by that onelie sacrifice whereby he hathe appeased the angre of God towarde us. And I holde it as a detestable presumption, that men shulde attribute to themselves any merite to put the least parte of their trust therin to obteine everlasting life.

I confesse, then, that Jesus Christ dueth not onely justifie us, by covering all oure fautes and iniquities, but also renueth us by his Spirit, and that these two pointes can not be separate, to obteine pardone for our sinnes, and to be reformed into an holie life. But because, until we departe out of this worlde, there remaine many infirmities and vices in us, in so muche that all the good workes whiche we do, by the helpe of the Holie Gost, are spotted with some blot, we mast alwais have our refuge to the free justice which procedeth of the obedience which Jesus Christe hath prayed for us: forasmuche as we are accepted in hys Name, and that God imputeth not unto us our sinnes.

I Confesse that we are made partakers of Jesus Christe, and of all his benefites, by faith in the Gospel, when we are assured certeinly of his promises towards us, whiche are conteined therein. And because this passeth al our power to obteine it, therefore I acknowledge, that we can not have this faith but by the Spirite of God, which is an especial gift, and is not communicate to any but to the elect, which are predestinate before the creation of the world with to the inheritance of salvation, and that frely, without any respect of thair dignitie or vertue.

I Confesse, also, that we are justified by faith, inasmuche as we thereby receive Jesus Christ, who is given us of the Father, for a Mediatour: and in that, that we are grounded upon the promises of the Gospel, whereby God testifieth unto us that he raketh and claimeth us for hys children as juste and pure from al spot, forasmuche as our sinnes are wasdeth [washed] away by the blood of his Sonne. Wherefore I detest the dreames of

them which wolde make us to beleive that the essentiall justice of God is in us, not beinge content with that fre imputation and acceptation, whereupon the Scripture commandeth us onely to stay.

I Confesse that faith giveth us an entrance and accesse to come unto God and call upon him, whiche teacheth us to call upon him with assurance to be heard accordinge as he hathe promised us, and that this honour oght to be reserved to hym alone, as a soveraine sacrifice, whereby we declare that we have and holde all of him. And althogh that we be utterly unworthie to present ourselves before this Majestie, yet having Jesus Christe for our Mediatour and Advocate, we have sufficient to content our selves with all. Wherefore I detest that superstition whiche was imagined, to direct men to Saincts, to the intent that we shuld have them for patrones and advocates to pray unto God for us.

I Confesse, that aswel the trade of godlie life, as the doctrine and teachinge of faith, are conteined in the Holie Scripture, and that in all perfection, so that it is not lawfull to adde any thyng thereunto, not to diminish any thyng thereof. And therefor I detest what soever men have set up of their owne invention, to make articles of oure faith thereof, or to binde mens consciences to their lawes and statutes. Generally, I reject all those maners and facions to serve God which men have broght in without the autoritie of the Word, as are al the ceremonies of the Papistrie. And I abhorre all that tyrannous yoke wherewith poore sooles [soules] have been oppressed, as is the lawe of Auricular confession, prohibition of Mariage, and suche like.

I Confesse that the Church oght to be gouverned by the Pastors and ministers, which have charge to preache the Word of God, and minister the Sacramentes; and that none oght to thrust in themselves to preache without lawfull election, to avoide confusion: and that, if they whiche are called to this office execute it not faithfully, they oght to be deposed. Also

that all their power and superioritie consisteth in guiding them whiche are committed unto them by the Worde of God, so that Jesu Christe remaineth alwayes chief Pastor and onelye master of this Church, and we oght to heare none but his voice. Therefore I detest the whole order of the Papistrie (whiche they call the Hierarchie) as a devillishe confusion, stablished, as it were, in despite of God, and to the mockerie and reproche of all Christian religion.

I Confesse that, besyde the preachynge, because of oure rudenes and infirmytye, we have nede of Sacraments, as of salves which are to ratifie the promises of God in oure heartes; and that there are two whiche are ordeined unto us by JESUS CHRISTE, to wit, Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord, without any mo. The first is to give us entrance into the Church; and the second is to reteine us therein. So I reject the five Sacraments which the Papiste have invented of their own braine.

Albeit that the Sacramentes are pledges to assure us of the grace of God, yet I Confesse that they were unprofitable, except the Holie Ghost shulde make them effectual in us as instruments, to the intent that our faith shulde not be distracte from GOD, and staye upon creatures. Also, I Confesse that the Sacramentes are depraved and corrupte, when they are not referred to this ende, to seke in Jesus Christ all that apperteineth to our salvation, and when they are applied to anye other use then that our faith therby shuld be wholly confirmed towarde him. And forasmuche as the promes of adoption apperteineth to the sede of the faithfull, I Confesse that the infantes of the faithfull oght to be received into the Churche by Baptisme. And herein I deteste the errour of the Anabaptistes.

Concerning the Lordes Supper, I Confesse that it is a testimonie to us of the unitie that we have with Jesus Christe, forasmuche as he dyed not onelye once, and rose again for us, but also fedeth and nourisheth us with his flesh and blood, that we might be one with him, and that his life shulde be communicat

unto us. And althogh he be in heaven untill he come to judge the worlde, yet I beleve that, by the secrete and incomprehensible vertue of his Spirite, he quickeneth oure soules with the substance of his bodye and of his blood.

In effect, I Confesse that, aswel in the Lordes Supper, as in Baptisme, God giveth us in dede and accomplisheth trully that whiche is there figured. But to obteine so great a benefite, we muste joyne the word with the signes. Wherefore I detest the abuse and corruption of the Papistes, which have taken awaye the chief thing of the sacraments, to wit, the doctrine which shuld teach us the right use and the frute that procedeth therof, and have made thereof sorceries and charmings.

Also I Confesse, that the water, albeit it be a fraile element, yet it doeth testifie to us in dede in the Sacrament of Baptisme then [the] true presence of the blood of Christ Jesus, and of his Spirit; and that in the Supper the bread and wine are certeine and infallible pledges that we are spiritually nourished with the body and blood of Jesus Christ; and so I joyne with the signes the possession and the use of that which is there presented.

And forasmuche as the holye Supper, according as Jesus Christe ordeined it, is our singular and inestimable treasure, so much more I detest the Masse as a most abominable sacriledge and cursed abomination, whiche serveth for nothynge elles but to subvert all that Jesus Christe hath left us, bothe in that that they have made it a sacrifice for the quicke and for the deade, and also in all other thinges, whiche are cleane contrarie to the pure institution of the Lordes Supper.

I Confesse that God wil have the world governed by lawes and policies, that there may be meanes to bridle and represse the disordinate affections of men. As he hath established, therfore, kingdomes, power, and gouvernement, and whatsoever doth apperteine to the estate of justice; so he wil be knowne to be the Autour of the same, to the intent that not only for his sake we suffer our superiours to beare rule, but also that we

honor and esteme them with all reverence, takinge them for his lieutenantes and officers, whome he hathe put in autoritie to execute that charge which is lawefull and holye. Therfore we muste obey their lawes and statutes, pay tribute, taxes, and other dueties, and beare the yoke of subjection willingly and gladly, if so be that God, who is chief Governour, may have his autoritie reserved whole in al points.[1]

A CONFESSION OF OUR SINNES, WHICH WE USE IN THE TIME WHEN THE ETERNAL CORRECTETH US WITH ANY OF HIS APPOINTED SCOURGES FOR DECLINING FROM THE PURITIE OF HIS WORDE, WHETHER IT BE IN DOCTRINE OR LIFE.[2]

(*From the Edinburgh edition of* 1562.)

O Lord God, which art mightie and dreadful, thou that kepest covenant, and shewest mercy to them that love the and do thy commandements, we have sinned, we have offended, we have wickedly and stubburnely gone backe from thy lawes and precepts; we wolde never obey thy servantes, the Prophetes, that spake in thy Name to our kinges and princes, to our forefathers, and to all the people of our land.[3] O Lord, righteousnes belongeth unto thee;[4] unto us perteineth nothing but open shame, as thou from the begining hast openly, in the sight of all agis displeasing thee,[5] shewing thy selfe most terrible and fearful against the manifest contempt of thy graces offred; so that the curses and punishments which are written in thy law are in ful readines to be shed furth,[6] and that in greatest

[1] After this Confession, the little Geneva volume of 1561 contains a repetition (without the music) of the Lord's Prayer, in metre, *Our Father which in Heaven art*, nine stanzas of six lines, which is given in nearly all the old editions of the Psalter, as translated by Dr. Coxe.

[2] Nehe. 1; Job 9, 38, 39, 40. Psal. 24, 76, 77, 139.

[3] Exo. 20; Luk. 7. Gen. 5; Rom. 5. 1 Joh. 1; Psal. 32, & 109. Leu. 26; Deue 28. Jer. 26; Nehe. 6. Psal. 11; Jam. 4. Joh. 4, 6. 25; Psal. 20.

[4] Jer. 20, 27.

[5] Leu. 26; Deue. 27, 28, 30.

[6] 2 Pet. 2; Prov. 26; Heb. 6. 10. —(Marginal notes.)

aboundance, if that we do not with spedie repentance turne unto thy mercy seat. Moste petifull it is, O Lord, to beholde that nether they that beare rule over us, nor we that are inferiour, do lament our horrible defection from the.[1] Suche is thy juste judgements, O Lord, that thou punishest sinne by sine, and man by his owne inventions, so that there can be no end of iniquitie,[2] except thou prevent us with thine undeserved grace.

Therefore convert us, O Lord, and we shalbe converted, for we do not offer up our prayers trusting in our owne righteousnes, but in thy manifolde mercies.[3]

And althogh we can not say the contrarie, but that thou in tyme of greatest blindnes hast stirred up some to put us in minde of our declining,[4] and to utter unto us thy eternal veritie; we notwithstanding, have moste shamefully abused the same,[5] in obeying rather our owne lustes[6] and affections, then the admonitions of thy Prophetes;[7] yet we humbly beseche thee once againe for thy Names sake,[8] to pour some confortable drop of thine accustomed mercie upon us;[9] incline thine eares and open thine eyes to beholde the grievous plagues[10] which are emminent, and make in us teacheable hearts, to convert betimes, or thou presse furth the uttermoste of thine judgements.

And let the afflictions and juste punishments written in thy boke be an admonition and warning aswel to us, as other nations, who shal heare of the same, lest, for like contempt, in the end like or worse plagues fall upon them.[11] Wherefore, O Lord, heare us; O Lord forgive us;[12] O Lord, consider and tarie not over longe, but for thy deare Sonne Jesus Christes sake,[13] be merciful unto us, and deliver us. So shall it be knowen to all the worlde

[1] How miserable it is to returne to the olde vomit.
[2] Isa. 95; Rom. 10; Ephe. 2.
[3] Psal. 85; Jer. 31.
[4] Tit. 3; 2 Tim. 1.
[5] Gal. 4, 5.
[6] Gal. 5.
[7] Zach. 7.
[8] Psal. 23.
[9] Psal. 71.
[10] Psal. 23, 25.
[11] Matt. 11, 12; Luk. 10.
[12] Joh. 16.
[13] Psal. 103, 108.—(Marginal Notes.)

that thou onely art the selfe same God, that ever shewest mercie to all suche as call upon thine holy Name.

A Godlie Prayer.

(From the Edinburgh edition of 1562.)

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whome liveth the plenitude and fulnes of all wisdome and understanding, by the presence of thy Holie Spirit, illuminate our dull and ignorant senses, and affectually promote and move our hearts, in such sort that we may attaine and come to the true knowledge and godlie understanding of thy moste blessed wil, shewed and reveled unto mankinde in thy most holy Worde, give us the grace (O heavenlie Father!), that by the promes of the same we may learne to put our whole truste and confidence in the our eternal God alone, and by the sharpe threatnings and juste punishments, which we find from time to time duely execute against the inobedient dispysers of thy holie Evangile, idolaters and hipocrites, that we may trimble in thy presence continually, fearing to offend thy godlie Majestie; so that the whole actions of our life may be rueled and governed, not after the appetite of our corrupt nature, but onelie according to the precise rule and ditement of thy holie Law; seing it hath pleased thee of thy infinite mercies and grace to call us from all supersticion, error, and blindnes of heart, to that dignitie, honour, and preeminence that thou communicatest thy godlie counsels with us; that we, in depe consideration of the same, may dedicate and sanctifie our whole lives and bodies to the praise and glorie of thy holie Name; to the comfort and consolation of Christe Jesus congregation; and finally, that every one of us to edifie and comfort one another by good exemple of life. Let us pray for this as we be taught by oure Soveraine Lorde and Master Christ Jesus. Our Father, etc.

A CONFESSION OF SINNES, WITH PRAYER FOR REMISSION OF THE SAME, TO BE USED IN THESE TROUBLESOME DAYES.[1]

(*From the Edinburgh edition of* 1562.)

O dreadful, and moste mightie God, thou that from the beginning hast declared thy selfe a consuming fire against the contemners of thy most holie precepts, and yet to the penitent thou hast shewen thy selfe a favourable Father and a God ful of mercie; we, the workmanship of thine owen handes, confesse our selves moste unworthy to open our eyes unto the heaven: for our conscience doeth accuse us, and our manifest iniquitie doeth beare witnes that we have declined from thee: we have bene polluted with idolatrie and superstition; we have given thy glorie to creatures, and hath soght supporte where it was not to be founde, the manifest corruption of our lives doeth evidentlie prove how farre we have offended against thee: and against thy juste and moste holie commandements.

Above all this, we have further offended thee, O Lord, for some of us after knowledge of thy blessed wil, which of thy mercy thou hast reveled unto us, have followed the filthie pleasure of the flesh, and vanitie of this wicked worlde; we are not ignorant, O Lord, that thou art an just judge, who suffred not the iniquitie of obstinat transgressors long to be unpunished; and even now hast thou begonne to poure out thy displesoure upon us, as thou doest threaten in thy Law, for strangers have oppressed us, they possest our tounes, and threatned bondage and sclaverie to our whole nation and countrie. We do not denie, O Lord, but that our grievous offences and great unthankfulnes have deserved not onelie these temporal plagues, but also rejection from thy presence and perpetual condemnation; but, O Lord, if thou shuldest kepe in minde for ever the iniquitie of thy creatures, there shal no flesh abide thy judgement, and therefore we moste humbly beseche thee, O Father

[1] This Confession afterwards altered: see *supra*, p. 294.

of mercies, for Christ Jesus thy Sonnes sake, to remove the remembrance of our bypast iniquities, and by the power of thy Holie Spirit, so to govern us in all times to come, that all the actions of our life may tend to the advancement of thy glorie, and to the comfort of thy troubled flooke.

Remove from us, O Lord, all terrible thraldome of merciles strangers. And seing it hath pleased thee, now after our long blindnes and horrible defection from thee, to offer unto us the light of thy worde, and in the same remission of our sinnes, by the meanes of thy onely beloved Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord, let the same, thy grace undeserved of us, so continue with us, that to this generation, and to the posteritie to come, it may appeare that thou hast not called us in vaine frome darknes to light. Grante us this, and whatsoever thou knowest to apperteine to the manifestation of thy glorie, and to the comfort of thy troubled Church, for the merite and intercession of thy beloved Sonne Christ Jesus, our Soveraine Lord and onely Lawgiver, to whome with thee and the Holy Gost be all honor and glorie, now and ever. So be it.

ANE PRAYER, METE TO BE USED WHEN GOD THRETENETH HIS JUDGEMENTS.

(*From the Edinburgh edition of* 1575.)

O Lorde our God, Father everlasting, and ful of compassion, heare from the heavens our prayers and supplications, which from our sorroweful hearts and wounded consciences we powre foorthe presently before thy Majestie. Thow hast, O Lord, in the multitude of thy mercies, not onely created us reasonable creatures, but also of thy inestimable goodnes hast send the great Angel of the covenant, our Lord Jesus Christ, to redeme us, by whome thy wrath is taken away, the law is satisfied, and the power of death, of hel, and of Sathan, is broken. Moreover, when as we lay in the shadowe of death, and the feareful darknes of the soule, which was brought in by that man of perdition

the Antechrist, and his suppostes, conspired enemies to thy Sonne our Lord Jesus, thou made the light of thy Evangel to shyne amongst us in such aboundance, that no Nation nor Country hath the lamp of thy treuth, showing the way to life everlasting, so clerely shyning amongst them, with these benefits spiritual it pleaseth thee of the same goodnes to conjuns temporal blessinges: for whose eyes hath not sene thy potent arme fighting for us, whose heart is so blinded that it can not perceave in al our afflictions thy wounderful delyverance: who can not but confesse that alwayes we were covered under thy shadow.

Thou was our hope, our fortresse, and our God, thou coverit us under thy winges, and we were sure under thy feathers. But alas, O Lord, the consideration of thy benefits is a matter of sorrow to our wounded consciences; for the multitude of thy blessings convicts us of the more feareful unthankfulnes. In suche a light what is among us but works of darknes; and so this thy great and inestimable kindnes, with unkindnes have we recompensed againe. Thou gently hast called us, and yet doest cal upon us, but who did heare? thou thretneth, but who did tremble? thow punisheth, but we wolde not receave correction. Ane fyre appeareth presently to be kendled in thy wrath, but where is the repentance amongst us to slocken it. O Lord, we know the dome, and insensible elements of the worlde admonisheth us, of our great unthankfulnes; the heavy face of the heavens, the unnatural dealings in the earth, the contagion and infection of the aire, threatneth thy judgements. Those creaturs thou hast formed for mans comfort, but potent art thou who turneth that to the disconfort and hurt of them who repyneth against thee, which otherwise should have bene comfortabil. Besides al this things, we clerely see the enemies of thy trueth raging against thy Church to the judgement of man for to prevaile.

Yea further, Lorde, Satan takinge upon him the shappe of

an Angel of light, is in this corrupt age moste besie, to shake the foundation of al trew religion; that he may involve againe the blind world in fearful darknes. Thir thy judgements, O thou righteous Judge of the world, ar hid from the eyes of them whome the God of this world hath darkned. But, O Lord, when we consider them, we must tremble; and when we behold them, we must stoupe and confesse that we have offended thy Majestie; O Lord, we dare not be bold altogether to crave that thou wilt not correct, for we understand that by external afflictions and corrections, as certeine middes and bitter medicine, thou hailest the woundes and sores of the inwarde man. Yet, Lord, correct us in thy mercy, and not in thy fearce wrath, lest peradventure we be brused into poudre: When as the fyre departeth from thy presence, and is kindled in thy indignation, seperate us from the nombre of those above whose headdes thy righteous judgements doeth hing, and the sword of thy vengeance thretneth eternal destruction; and to this end and purpose creat in us newe heartes, give unto us the sprite of unfained repentance, worke in us a sorrowing for our sinnes, a detestation and hatrent of the same, together with a love unto righteousnes, that we, not being conforme to the wicked world, but making thy reveled wil a rule to lead our lyfe by, may offer ourselves up in a lively sacrifice unto thee, consecrating unto thy glorie bodie and soule, and al the actions of the same. Preserve us, good Lord, from the fearful thraldome of conscience and bondage of idolatrie: continue the light of thy glorious Gospel amongst us: represse the pryde of them who seketh to have the kandlestick removed, and the light shyning extinguished. Purge this countrie, by suche means as thou knowest to serve best for thy owne glorie, of murther, fornication, adulterie, incest, oppression, sacrilege, and such like other pestes, which hath defyled thine inheritance. Graunt us thankful heartes for thy benefites and manifold blessings powred upon us, for the whiche also open our mouthes to sound thy praises, and

offer the sacrifice of thankesgeving wherein thou doste delyte; inarme us with thy power, to stryve against Satan, against the fleshe, against the worlde, and against al those thinges which driveth us away from thyne obedience, that walking in thy pathes, and obeying thy blessed ordinances, we may so end our lyves in the sanctification of thy Name, that at last we maye atteine to that blessed immortalitie, and that crowne of glorie prepared for thine elect in Jesus Christ the King of glorie and God of immortalitie; in whose Name we crave most humbly these thy graces to be powred upon us moste miserable sinners; and further, as thy wisedome knoweth to be necessary for us, and for thy Church universal, disparsed upon the face of the whole earth: praying unto thee with al humilitie and submission of mynds, as we ar teached and commanded to pray, saying: OUR FATHER which art, etc.

A PRAYER IN TYME OF AFFLICTION.

(*From the Edinburgh edition of* 1575.)

Just and righteous art thou, O dreadful and most highe God, holy in al thy workes, and most just in al thy judgements, yea, even then when as thou punishest in greatest severitie. We have before, O Lord, felt thy heavy hand upon us, and when we cryed upon thee in our calamities and afflictions, moste mercifully thou inclyned thy ears unto us. But alas, O Lord, we have not answered in our lyves glorifying thy holy Name, as thou aunswered us when we called in oure distresse, but did returne unto our wounted sinne, and so provoketh thee through our misdedes unto displeasure: And therefore hast thou most justely turned thy self to punish us againe in bringing amongst us this noysome and destroying pest, according to the thretning of thy law, because we have not made our frute of thy former corrections. Our repentance, O Lord,

hath bene like the dew that suddenly evanisheth away; yea, the great multitude abaide hardned in heart through their owne pryde, and, walking in the lusts of their owne hearts, securely contemned thy blessed ordinances. For who hath murned for the universal corruption of this blind age? or ceased the murtherer from his murther? the oppressour from his oppression? the deceatful man from his deceat? the contemner of thy word from his contempt? and the licentious liver from his licentiousnes? Yea, Lord, where could the man be found that soght not himself, albeit with the hurt of others and defacing of thy glorie? So universally did, and presently doeth, that root of al evil, covetousnes, ringe through out this whole cuntrie; yea, Lord, they to whome thou granted worldly blessings in greatest aboundance, hath bene and is possessed with this uncleane spirit of avarice. The more thou gave, the more insatiabilly thrysted they to have, and ceased not til they did spoyle thee of thy owne patrimonie; and yet in this matter they wil not knowe themselves to sinne and offend thy Majestie. Therefore can not thy Justice longer spare, but it must punishe and strike, as thou thretnest into thy holy Law. Now we know, Lord, that thy judgements commonly beginneth at thy owne house, and therefor hast thou begon for to correct us, albeit yet in thy mercie, and not in greatest severitie. Wherefore, good Lord, ether els in the multitude of thy mercies remove this bitter cuppe away from us, or graunt us thy grace paciently and obediently to drinke the same as geven out of thy owne hand for our amendement. We acknowledge, O Lord, that afflictions are molestsome, noysome, and hard to be borne with of fragil fleshe, but Christ Jesus hath suffered heaviar torments for us, and we have deserved more nor we susteine, who so oft hath merited the very hels. Yf it sal please thy Majestie to continew our punishement, and double our strypes, then lat it please thee in like means to eik our patience, and make oure corporal afflictions serve to our humiliation, invocation of thy

Name, and obedience to thy holy ordinances. Or if of a Fatherly pitie it shal please thee to be content with this gentle correction, let the calme appeare after this present tempest, that in respect of bothe the one and the other we may glorifie thee; in that first thou hast corrected to ammendement, lest we shuld have sleped in sinne to our destruction; and, secundly, that thou hast taken awaye the bitternes of affliction with the sweetnes of thy confortable deliverance: in thee first having respect to the necessitie, and in the laste to our infirmitie. But, Lord, againe we know albeit thy judgements thus beginneth at thy owne house, and they of thy familie appeareth onely to be beaten of thee; yet the wicked shal not escape, but they shal drinke the dregges of the cup of thy indignation, let it be they escape the famine, the pest shal apprehend them; if they escape the pest, the sword shal devoure them; if they shal not fal in the edge of the sworde, thou art able to make any of the smallest and least creatures to be a stumblingblocke before their fete; where at, albeit they reche their heads above the clouds, they fal most fearefully. But, O Lord, now it is thine owne inheritance, for the which we sigh and grone before thy Majestie; loke upon it, therefore, from the heavens, and be merciful to thy people; let thy angre and thy wrathe be turned away from us, and make thy face to shine lovingly upon thine owne sanctuary. O Lord, heare; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, consider, grant our requestes, for thy owne sake, O our God, and that in the Name of thy onely begotten Sonne Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour and Mediatour, in whose name we pray unto thee, as we are teached, saying, OUR FATHER, etc.

A CONFESSION OF SINNES, TO BE USED BEFORE SERMON.

(*From the Edinburgh edition of* 1575.)

Trueth it is, O LORD, that we are unworthy to come in thy godly presence, by reason of our manifold sinnes and wicked-

nes, much lesse ar we worthie to receave any grace or mercy at thy handes, if thou shulde deale with us according to our deservings; for we have sinned, O Lorde, against thee, and we have offended thy godlye and divine Majestie, if thou should beginne to reken with us even from our first conception in our mothers wombe, thou canst find nothing at al in us but occasion of death and eternall condemnation: for trueth it is, that first we were conceaved in sinne, and in iniquitie was every one of us borne of oure mother; al the dayes of our lyfe we have so stil continued in sinne and wickednes, that rather we have geven oure selves to followe the corruption of this our fleshely nature then otherwaies, with that earnest care and diligence to serve and worship thee our God, as it become us; and therefore if thou should enter in judgement with us, just occasion hast thou not onely to punishe thir our wretched and mortal bodies, but also to punishe us bothe in bodie and soule eternally, if thou shoulde handle us according to the rigour of thy justice. Bot yet, O Lord, as on the owne part we acknowledge our owne sinnes and offences, together with the fearefull judgements of thee our God, that justly be reason thereof thou may powre upon us, so also on the other parte we acknowledge thee to be a merciful God, a loving and a favourable Father to al them that unfainedly turne unto thee. Wherefore, O Lord, we thy people, and the workmanship of thine owne handes, most humbly beseche thee, for Christ thy Sonnes sake, to shewe thy mercy upon us, and forgive us al our offences. impute not to us the sinnes of oure youth, neither yet receave thou a rekening of us for the iniquitie of our olde age; but as thou hast showen thy self merciful to al them that hath truely called unto thee, so shew the like mercy and the lyke favour unto us thy poore servands. Indue our hearts, O God, with such a true and perfect acknowledging of our sinnes, that we may powre forth before thee the unfained sighs and sobbes of our troubled hearts and afflicted consciences for our offenses committed against

thee. Inflamme our hearts with such a zeale and fervencie towardes thy glorie, that all the dayes of our lyfe our onely studie, travel, and labour may be to serve and worship thee our God in spirit, in trueth, and in veritie as thou requyrest of us; and that this may be the better performed in us, preserve us from al impediments and stayes that in any waies may hinder or stop us in the same; but in special, O Lord, preserve us from the craft of Satan, from the snares of the worlde, and from the noughtie lustes and affections of the fleshe. Make thy Spirit, O God, once to take such ful possession and dwelling in our hearts, that not onely al the actions of our life, but also al the wordes of our mouth, and the least thought and cogitation of oure mindes, may be gydit and rueled thereby. And, finally, graunt that al the time of oure lyfe may be so spent in thy true fear and obedience, that altogether we maye ende the same in the sanctification and honoring of thy blessed Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whome with thee, and the Holy Gost, be al honour and glorie for now and for ever. So be it.

A Prayer for the King.

(From the Edinburgh edition of 1575.)

O Lord Jesus Christ, most high, most mightie King of kinges, Lord of lords, the onely Ruler of Princes, the very Sonne of God, on whose right hande sitting, doest from thy throne behald al the dwellers upon earth, with most lowly hearts we beseche thee, vouchesave with favourable regarde to behald oure most gracious sovereigne lord, King James the Sixte,[1] and to replenish him with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that he alway incline to thy wil and walke in thy way; kepe

[1] In later editions these words are varied. In edition 1596, they are, "the King and Queenes Majesties, and the Prince." In 1611, "the King and Queenes Majesties, the Prince, and the rest of their Royall children." In 1635, "King Charles and his Queene, with their royall ofspring."

him farre of from ignorance, but through thy gift let prudence and knowledge alway abounde in his Royal heart; so instruct him (O Lord Jesus), ringing upon us in earth, that his humane Majestie alway obey thy Divine Majestie in feare and dreade: Indue him plentifully with heavenly gifts; graunt him in health and wealth long to live: Heap glorie and honour upon him: Glade him with the joye of thy countenance: So strengthen him, that he may vanquish and overcome al his and our foes, and be dread and feared of al the enemies of this his Realme. Amen.

[In the various editions of the Book of Common Order, reprinted along with the Psalms, frequent changes continued to be made, until the General Assembly, on the 16th of May 1601, discharged any further alterations or additions without the allowance of the Assembly; and nothing was added afterwards by any lawful Assembly. Some of these additional Prayers are not here printed, as they apparently do not belong to Knox's period. In the edition by Henry Charteris at Edinburgh, 1596, there are four, entitled, "A Prayer for Repentance," p. 54; "Ane Confession that shall go before the reading of the Lawe, and before everie Exercise," p. 56; "An other Confession," p. 59; and "A Prayer to prepare us to Die well," p. 78. In the Collection of Confessions, etc., vol. ii. p. 268, we also find one with this title, "A Christian Exposition upon the Lord's Prayer," given from an undescribed edition printed in the year 1600; and in the editions at Middleburgh 1602, and Edinburgh 1611, there is added "A Commentarie upon the first verse of the 122 Psalme, written by the learned Doctor M. L." (Martin Luther), but the translator's name is not mentioned.]

THE

ORDER OF THE GENERAL FAST,

AND THE FORM OF EXCOMMUNICATION,

APPROVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

M.D.LXVI.--M.D.LXIX.

THE following pages serve to complete the series of Confessions, Orders, and Forms, of public authority in the Church of Scotland, at the period of the Reformation. Knox having had a chief hand in preparing these standards in matters of Doctrine and Discipline, a few explanatory remarks may not be unsuitable.

The establishment of the Reformed Religion in this country is associated with the CONFESSION OF FAITH, when it was ratified by the Three Estates assembled in Parliament at Edinburgh on the 17th of August 1560. This Confession, consisting of twenty-five Articles or Chapters, is already printed from the original edition,[1] along with two Acts against the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the Jurisdiction of the Pope within this Realm.

The point that next demanded the serious attention of the Protestant Church was a form of Policy, which, says Knox, "by the Papists was altogether defaced."[2] The Parliament having been dissolved, consultation was held how this might best be accomplished; and it resulted in a commission and charge being given to Knox and other four ministers, "to draw in a volume the Policy and Discipline of the Kirk, as well, or in the same manner as they had done the Doctrine."[3] Having for this end prepared the BOOK OF DISCIPLINE, it was submitted to the nobility, and others, by many of whom it was approved; but certain conditions, in the form of marginal notes and additions, were made by the Lords of Council, as expressed in the Act subscribed by them on the 27th of January 1560-61.[4]

According to this scheme, certain wise and liberal measures

[1] Knox's Works, vol. ii. pp. 91-120.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 128.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 128.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 257.

were recommended for the appropriation of the rents and possessions justly appertaining to the Church, so that, in the first instance, an adequate provision should be made for the support of the ministry; that a grammar school should be erected in every parish for the instruction of youth; that the three Universities should be well endowed, and the course of study in each of the Colleges regulated according to the plan laid down; and further, that the necessitous Poor should be maintained. The proposed Book of Discipline, it is well known, was never sanctioned by any public enactment of the Legislature. In addition to the rigorous and impartial exercise of discipline, it unfortunately happened that the worldly interests of some "of the Professors" were affected by such an appropriation of the Church's patrimony which many of the nobility and courtiers had secured for themselves; and for several years the Protestant ministers were kept in nearly a state of starvation. I have already inserted this Book of Discipline in volume second,[1] from what may be reckoned the most authentic copy that has reached our times; and the only one in which the notes and additions alluded to appear in their original form, a portion of the manuscript being apparently the actual copy submitted to the Lords of Council.[2]

Upon the occasion of Mr. John Spottiswood, minister of Calder, being admitted Superintendent of Lothian and Tweeddale, on the 9th of March 1560-61, Knox had prepared "THE FORME AND ORDER OF THE ELECTION OF SUPERINTENDENTS;" and also "THE ORDER OF ELECTION OF ELDERS AND DEACONS." These

[1] Knox's Works, pp. 183-258.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 207. It forms a portion of Knox's MS. 1566. See vol. i. p. xxxi. and vol. ii. p. 201.—In the footnote at p. 183, in describing the 1621 edition of the First and Second Books of Discipline, I had overlooked another edition, published under this title: "The Doctrine and Discipline of the Kirke of Scotland, as it was formerly set forth by publicke authority. And at this present commanded there to be practised in the said Kirke, Anno 1641, etc. [London] Printed by Rob. Young, his Majesties Printer for Scotland, and are to be sold by John Sweeting, at the signe of the Angell in Popes-head-Allie, 1641," pp. xi. 100.

Forms were intended to serve on future occasions, and they are inserted in his History of the Reformation.[1]

THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, contained in the division which immediately precedes this, was found to be no less indispensable. It superseded the proposed use of the English Book of Common Prayer, and was an adaptation of what had been received by the English Congregation at Geneva. This Book consisted of a set of Prayers and Offices for the common occasions of the Church, along with the Forms to be employed in administering the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. As already shown, the volume which also contained a metrical version of the Psalms, and a translation of Calvin's Catechism, was sanctioned by the General Assembly on the 26th of December 1564.

There now remain to be added two separate treatises, which accompany several later editions of that volume: The TREATISE ON FASTING, 1566, and the FORM OF EXCOMMUNICATION, 1569, with a few public Letters of the time, which were prepared by Knox under the direction of the General Assembly. A general Fast, it may be remarked, was not then regarded as a mere nominal observance; while the sentence of Excommunication involved very serious consequences, both of a civil and religious kind.

After this enumeration, it may be observed, that various offices in the Church, which are mentioned in the Books of Discipline and of Common Order, were not permanent, but were, in the course of a few years, either laid aside or modified, when found to be inexpedient. Such were the several classes of Superintendents and Commissioners, of Readers and Exhorters, and of Doctors or Teachers.

It has been maintained, that by the election of SUPERINTENDENTS, the Episcopal form of Diocesan Bishops was recognised. But the office was merely of a temporary nature, in

[1] Knox's Works, vol. ii. pp. 148-150, and 151-154.

order that many parishes or localities should not be wholly deprived of religious oversight and instruction. In July 1560 as the Committee of Parliament had nominated ministers only to some of the principal towns, it became necessary to provide a remedy, that "the greatest part of this Realme should not be destitute of all doctrine." It was, therefore, proposed, that the country should be divided into ten or twelve districts, each to have a special Superintendent, whose duty it was to visit and preach in the several churches, but not to remain beyond a limited time in any one place. They had also authority "to plant" or admit persons, who, upon examination, were found suitable for vacant congregations; and to see that all beneficed persons should be resident, and not allowed to neglect their proper duties.

The number of persons elected as Superintendents never exceeded the five who were first chosen. The office was one of a very arduous nature. It conferred no degree of superiority over their brethren; it had no great pecuniary advantage; while, like other members, they were subject to be censured, superseded, or deposed by the General Assembly. As their number was never increased, the Assembly from time to time appointed Commissioners or Visitors for special districts.

The Superintendents who were nominated by the Committee of Parliament, in July 1560, were—

JOHN CARSWELL, for Argyle and the Isles.
JOHN ERSKINE of Dun, for Angus and Mearns.
JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, for Lothian and Tweeddale.
JOHN WILLOCK, for Glasgow and the West.
JOHN WYNRAME, for Fife.

On the 25th December 1563, when the Superintendents were tried by the General Assembly, Spottiswood requested the Assembly to give him license to return to his former cure, as minister of Calder, "because he was not able to discharge so great a burthen as he was burthened with." It was complained

of Wynrame that he did not preach during his visitations, leaving the duty to the minister of the parish. Willock was also censured for not endeavouring to procure the extermination of idolatry within his bounds. He also desired to be disburdened of the great charge lying upon him, and which he had undertaken only for a time. Erskine, it was said plainly, allowed discipline to be neglected in many kirks of Angus and Mearns; that he preached not in his visitations; and that, being burdened with the visitation of the North, he could not attend upon the charge allotted him. Carswell not being present, was passed over unchallenged. The question, Whether Superintendents ought to preach in all the kirks where they did visit, was reserved to be discussed at the end of the Assembly.[1]

In addition to these five Superintendents, the Assembly, on the penult of June 1562, refused the petition of Alexander Gordon, formerly Bishop of that diocese, to be acknowledged as Superintendent of Galloway, in virtue of an alleged presentation either by the Lords of Secret Council or province of Galloway.[2] In December following, he was again put in nomination, with Superintendents for Aberdeen and other places, but the haill Kirk remitted this to further advisement. "Here," Calderwood remarks, "we may see, that the Bishops converted from Poperie were not suffered to exerce jurisdiction ecclesiasticall, by virtue of their Episcopall office."[3] In June 1563, the necessity of the case urging them, the Assembly granted license to the Bishops of Galloway, Orkney, and Caithness, for the space of one year, "to plant kirks" within their own bounds.[4]

READERS and EXHORTERS were persons in like manner appointed to officiate in particular congregations, to which no minister had been provided. At this time three or four churches

[1] Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 244; and Booke of the Kirk, vol. i. p. 39.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 184; and vol. i. p. 15.
[3] Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 207.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 224; and vol. i. p. 32.

were grouped together, having a Minister in the principal church, and Readers in others, under his superintendence. Their duty was limited to reading the Scriptures and Common Prayers, with liberty, when qualified, to explain the Scriptures read, and exhort the people—hence the name Exhorter. But this title, after a few years, was silently dropped; and, in July 1580, when the matured scheme of Presbyterial Church government was unfolded in the Second Book of Discipline, it was concluded that the office of Reader "is no ordinary office within the Kirk of God." It was accordingly in a great measure abolished, and probably most of those who had been so denominated were recognised as ministers; but we may conclude, that although not permitted to dispense the Sacraments, or to conduct the stated services of preaching and extempore prayers, their training as Scripture Readers may have qualified them for the higher position in the ministry.

"At the Assembly," says Knox,[1] "in December 1562, great complaints were made that churches lacked ministers; that ministers lacked their stipends," etc. Similar complaints were repeatedly made; and in the Letter, written in the name of the Superintendents to the Faithful, dated the 25th of December 1565, the "extreme necessity of new ministers" is strongly represented.[2] Thus to show the difficulties with which the Reformers had to contend between 1567 and 1571, according to the Register, there were 988 churches with 289 ministers and 715 readers, the places of 20 ministers and 97 readers not being supplied.

I may refer to an introductory note to the Register of Ministers and Readers in the year 1574, contained in the Wodrow Miscellany, for some general notices on the subject; and also to Principal Lee's Account of the First Book of Discipline, in his Lectures on the History of the Church.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 363.

[2] See the letter subjoined to the Order of Fasting.

In England, judging from Bishop Jewel's account of the miserable state of the English Protestant clergy in 1570, it was long before adequate provision was made for their support, arising from the same cause, the greediness of the laity in retaining the Church lands and tithes in their own hands.

In the year 1565, the Commissioners of the General Assembly, Mr. John Craig and others, who had been appointed "to collect the heads and causes of the publick Fast," returned, and, on the 28th of December, "declared the necessitie of a publict Fast at this time; therefore the Assemblie, with ane voice, ordained Mr. Knox and Mr. Craig ministers at Edinburgh, to set out the Forme thereof, with the Exercise to be used in the same, and to cause Robert Lekprevik print it."[2]

The Order and Form was accordingly prepared and printed in the little volume, of which the facsimile title is given at page 391. It was to be observed for eight days, from the last Sunday of February to the first Sunday of March 1565-6. Yet Calderwood says, "The first and second Lord's day of May was celebrated universallie, and was the first Public Fast which we had after the Reformation: which Exercise became frequent afterwards;"[3] and, perhaps mistaking it for another year, he afterwards states, "that the Assembly, on the 26th of June, appointed a General Fast to take place on the last two Sabbaths of July nixt, and the Communion to be ministred upon the saids Lord's days, if it may be done convenientlie."[4] Again, on the 8th of March 1568-9, it was concluded "by the haill Brethren assemblit, that a Generall Fasting be proclaimit throughout all Scotland, to begin in Lothian, Fyfe, and such uther places as may receive advertisement, the 13th day of this instant."[5]

Upon the occasion of a similar Fast, this Order was reprinted

[1] Calderwood's History, vol. ii. p. 304.
[2] Booke of the Kirk, vol. i. p. 76.
[3] Calderwood's History, vol. ii. p. 317.
[4] Calderwood's History, vol. ii. p. 324.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 486; Booke of the Kirk, vol. i. p. 138.

by Lekprevik in 1574, when the time of the Fast was changed, with a slight addition which is annexed, and also a facsimile of the title. This copy has frequently been reprinted, in the volume of Prayers and Psalms, by Vautrollier, Charteris, Hart, and others. Lekprevik's two editions are very rare. The marginal notes and references only occur in the edition of 1566.

In regard to "The Form of Excommunication," the General Assembly, on more than one occasion, must have had the subject before them; as we find, that on the 28th of June 1563, "Mr. Knox was requested to put in order the Forme and Manner of Excommunication;"[1] and on the 25th of June 1567, the Assembly nominated some of the members "to revise the Order of Excommunication penned be Mr. Knox, and to report their judgement to the Assemblie."[2] In July 1568, Messrs. Willock, Craig, and other five ministers were again appointed "to revise the Form and Order to be used in Excommunication, which is penned be Mr. Knox at the desire of the Assemblie, and to report their judgments."[3] This treatise, Calderwood adds, is "extant in our Psalm Books."[4] Their attestation is subjoined to all the copies; and, according to the title-page, it was commanded to be printed by order of the General Assembly, in June (July) 1569. The Editor of the Collection of Confessions,[5] had the use of the first edition, printed in that year, but it is of such rarity, that the only copy I have been able to discover is preserved in a volume of early Scottish tracts in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, from which I have given the title-page in facsimile. But this Form of Excommunication was reprinted by Henry Charteris in 1596, by Andrew Hart in 1611, and it also occurs in some of the later editions of the Prayers and Psalms, as well as in the Collection of Confessions.

[1] Booke of the Kirk, from Calderwood, vol i. p. 87.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 93.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 131.
[4] Calderwood's History, vol. ii. p. 424.
[5] Edin. 1722. vol. ii.

THE ORDOVR AND DOCTRINE OF THE GENERALL FASTE, APPOINTED be the Generall Aſſemblie of the Kirkes of Scotland. halden at Edinburgh the 25. day of December. 1565.

Ioel 2.

Therefore alſo now the Lord ſayeth, Turne yow vnto me with all your heart, and with Faſting, & with weaping, and with murning.

IMPRINTED AT EDINBVRGH BE ROBERT LEKPREVIK ANNO. DOM. 1566.

Small 8vo, roman letter, not paged, contains A to G 7 in eights.

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Small 8vo, roman letter, not paged,—contains A to D in eights, E in four, and F in 2.

THE SUPERINTENDENTES, MINISTERS, AND COMMISSIONERS OF KIRKES REFORMED, WITHIN THE REALME OF SCOTLAND, CONVENED IN THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE, AT EDINBURGH, THE 25 DAY OF DECEMBER 1565. TO ALL THAT TREWLY PROFESSE THE LORD JESUS WITHIN THE SAME REALME, OR ELS WHERE, WISHE GRACE AND MERCY FROM GOD THE FATHER, AND FROM HIS ONELY SONE OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE PERPETUALL CONFORT OF THE HOLIE SPIRITE.

The present Troubles being somewhat considdered, but greater feared shortly to follow, it wes thought expedient (dearelie beloved in the Lord Jesus) that the whole Faithfull within this Realme shuld together and at one time, prostrat themselves before their God, craving of him pardone and mercy; for the great abuse of his former benefites, and the assistance of his Holy Spirite, by whose mightie operation we may yet so convert to our God, that we provoke him not to take from us the lyght of his Evangel, which he of his mercie hath caused so clearly of laite dayes to shine within this Realme.

But because that suche publicte Supplicationes requyre alwayes Fasting to be joyned therewith, and publict Fastynge craveth a certane time, and certane exercises of godlynes then to be used with greater streatnes then at uther tymes; the whole Assemblie, after deliberation, hath appointed the last Sonday of February, and the first Sonday of Marche nixt following the date of the said Assemblie,[1] to that moste necessare exercise (as tyme now standeth) of publict Fasting. And further, did require the same to be signified be all Ministers to their people the Sonday preceading the said last Sonday of Februarie.[2]

But least that the Papistes shall think that now we begine to authorise and praise that which some tymes we have reproved and dampned in them; or els that the ignorant, who knowe not the commoditie of this moste godlie exercyse, shall contempne the same; we have thoght expedient some what to speak to the one and to the uther. And unto the Papistes, First, we say, that as in puritie of conscience we have

[1] In the edition 1574, the time appointed for the Fast, was "The second Sonday of May, and the third nixt following."

[2] "The Sunday immediatelie before the said second Sunday of May." (Edit. 1574.)

refused their whole abhominacions, and amongest the rest, that their superstitious and Pharisaicall maner of Fasting: so even unto this day do we continew in the same purpose, boldely affirming that their Fasting is no Fasting that ever God approved, but that it is a deceaving of the people, and a meare mocking of God, which moste evidentlie will appeare. If in the Scriptures we searche what is the ryght end of Fasting, what Fasting pleased God, and which it is that his soul abhorreth.

Of Fasting, in the Scriptures we finde two sortes: the one private, the other publicte. The private, is that which man or woman doeth in secrete, and before their God, for such causes as their owen conscience beareth record unto them. As David, during the time that his Sone, which was begotten in adulterie, was struken with mortall seicknes, fasted, weapt, and lay upon the ground, because that in the seicknes of the Chylde he did considder Godes displeasure against him self; for the removing whereof he fasted, murned, and prayed unto such tyme as he saw Godes wil fulfilled, by the awaytaking of the Chylde. Privatlie fasted Anna, wyfe to Alcana,[1] even in the verray Solempne Feastes, during the time of hir barrennes; for she weapt and eat nothing, but in the bitternes of hir heart she prayed unto the Lord; nether ceased she from sorow and murning, unto suche tyme as Eli the hie preist concurred with her in prayers, by whose mouth, after that he had hard her petifull complaint, she receaved conforte.

Of this Fasting, speaketh oure Maister, Jesus Christ, in these words, "When ye fast, be not sowr as the Hypocrytes, for they disfigure their faces that they may seme unto men to fast; but thow, when thow fastest, anoynt thy heade and washe thy face, that thow seame not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which seeth in secrete, and will rewarde thee opinly."[2] Of the same no dout speaketh the Apostle, when that he sayeth, "Defraude not one another, except it be with consent for a tyme, that ye may give yourselves to Fasting and prayer."[3]

To this private Fasting, which standeth chiefly in a temperat dyet, and in powring furthe of our secrete thoughtes and necessities before God, can be prescrived no certane rule, certane tyme, nor certane ceremonies; but as the Causes and occasiones why that exercise is used are divers (yea, so divers that seldome it is that many at ones are moved with one cause), so are diet, tyme, together with all uther circumstances, requyred to suche Fasting, put in the libertie of them that use it. To this Fasting we have bene faithfully and earnestly exhorted by oure Preachers, as oft as the Scriptures, which they entreated, offered unto them occasion. And we dout not but the godlie within this Realme have used the same as necessitie craved, albeit with the Papistes we blew no trumpetes, to appoynt thereto certane dayes.

[1] In edit. 1574, "wyfe to Elcana."—1 Sam. 1. [2] Math. 6. [3] 1 Cor. 7.

The uther kynde of Fasting is publict; so called, because that it is openlie avowed, some tymes of a Realme, some tymes of a multitude, some tymes of a cietie, and some tymes of a meaner company, yea, some tymes of particulare persones, and yet publictlie used, and that for the wealth of a multitude. The Causes thereof are also divers;[1] for sometymes the feare of ennimies, some tymes the angrie face of God punishing, some tymes his threatning to distroy, some tymes iniquitie deprehended that ryghtlie before wes not considered, and some tymes the earnest zeale that some beare for preservation of Godes people, for advancing of his glorie, and performing of his worke according to his promes, move men to publicte Fasting, confession of their sinnes, and solempned prayers, for defence against their ennimies, recovering of Godes favoures, removing of his plagues, preservation of his people, and setting fordwarde of that worke, which he hath of his mercie promised to finishe, as in the subsequent probationes evidently shall appeare.

When Messingers came to Josaphat, saying, "There cometh a great multitude against thee, from beyond the sea, out of Aram (that is Syria), etc.,[2] Josaphat feared, and set him self to seke the Lord, and proclamed a Faste throughout all Juda. And Juda gathered them selves together, to aske counsall of the Lord; they come even out of all the cieties of Juda to inquyre of the Lord. And Josaphat stoode in the congregation of Juda and Jerusalem, in the hous of the Lord, before the new court; and all Juda stoode before the Lord with their yonge ones, their wyfes and their chyldrene. And Josaphat said, O Lord God of our fathers, are not thow God in heaven, and reignest not thow in all Kingdomes of the heathen? And in thy hand is power and myght, and none is able to withstand thee.[3] Haste not thow, our God, cast out the inhabitantes of this land before thy people Israell, and haste given it to the sead of Abraham, thy freind, for ever? etc. But now the Ammorytes, and Moabytes, and the Mont Seir, ar come to cast us out of thy possession. O Lord our God, shall thow not judge them? In us there is no strength to stand against this great multitude that commeth against us, nether knowe we what to do; but unto thee are our eyes bent, etc." Of this Historie we have the first Cause of publict Fasting, and the solempnitie thereof sufficiently prowen. For the feare of ennimies compelled Josaphat to seik the Lord; he knowing him selfe burdened with the care of the people, exhorted them to do the same. They fra all cieties and quarters repared to Jerusalem, whereupone a statute daye the King and the people, yea, wyves and childrene, presented them selves before the Lord, in his holy Temple,[4] exponed their necessitie, implored his helpe against that enraged multitude, that alwayes

[1] Causes that ought to move men to publict Fasting.

[2] 2 Paral. i. 20.

[3] The prayer of Josaphat.

[4] The ceremonie of publicte Fasting.

wes ennimie to Godes people, and gave open confession of their owen weaknes, leaning onely to the promes and protection of the Omnipotent. Which exemple, we and everie people likewyse assaulted, may and ought to follow in everie poynt. This onely excepted, that we are not bound to convene at any one appoynted place, as they did at Jerusalem. For to no one certane and severall place is that promes made, that then wes made to the Temple at Jerusalem,[1] which wes, that whatsoever men in their extremitie shuld ask of God in it, God shuld grant it from his holie habitation in the heaven. Jesus the Messias, then looked for, whose presence wes sought in the mercie seat, and betuix the Cherubinnes, is now entered within the vale, that is, in the heaven, and there abydeth onely Mediator for us, unto whome, from all the coastes of the earth, we may lift up pure handes,[2] direct our prayers, supplicationes, and complaintes, and be assured that they shalbe receaved, in whatsoever place we convene. And yet, in tyme of suche publict exercyses, we wolde wishe that all men and wemen shuld repare to suche places as their conscience may be best instructed, their Faith moste edified, repentance moste lively sturred up in them, and they by Godes worde may be moste assured that their just peticions shall not be repelled: Which thinges can not be done so lively in secrete and private meditatiwn as that they are in publict Assemblie, where Christ Jesus is trewly preached: And this muche shortlie for the Firste head.

Of the Second, to wit, that the angrie face of God punishing aught to dryve us to publicte fasting, and humiliation of our soules before our God, we have two notable exemples, the one written in Josua; who, hearing and understanding that Israell had turned the back before the Chananites, and the elders of Israel rent their clothes, fell upone their faces before the Arke of the Lord unto the nyght,[3] and caste dust upone their heades, in signe of their humiliation and dejection. The uther is expressed in the booke of the Judges; where Israell, being commanded by God to fight against Benjamin,[4] because that they menteaned wicked men that deserved death, loste the first day twentie two thousand of their armie, and the second day eightene thousand. At the firste lose they were lyghtlie touched, and asked counsall if they shulde renew the battel. but at the second overthrow, the whole people repared unto the house of the Lord, sat there, weapt before the Lord, and fasted that day unto the night; for then began they to considder Godes angrie face against them.

In this last historie there appeareth just cause why the people shulde have recourse to the onely refuge of God, because that their first armie of twentie thousand men wes utterlie distroyed. But what just occasion

[illegible] made to the temple of [illegible] to be sought in Christe [illegible] them?

[1] In edit. 1574, "to lyft up oure handes;" 1 Timo. 2.

[2] Josua, 7. [4] Judj. 20.

had Josua so lamentablie to complaine,[1] yea, so boldely as it were to accuse God, that he had deceaved him in that, that against his promeis he had suffered Israell to fall before their ennimies. Wes the lose of threttе men (no mo fel that day in the edge of the sword) so great a mater, that he shuld despare of any better successe, that he shulde accuse God that he had brought them over Jordane, and that he shuld feare that the whole army of the Lord shuld be inveroned aboute, and consumed in the rage of their ennimies? Yea, if Israell had onely looked no further then to the lose of the fourty thousand men, they had bene but feable soldioures, for they had sufficient strength remaning behinde; for what were fourtie thousand, in respect of all the trybes of Israell?

Nay, nay, (deare Brethren) it wes an uther thing then the present lose, that terrified and effrayed their consciences, and made them so effeminatlie (so wold fleshe judge) to complaine, weap, and owle before God; to wit, they saw his angrie face against them; they saw his hand fortifie their ennimies, and to fight against them, whome both he had commanded to fight, and had promised to give them victorie.[2] For everie commandement of God to do any thing against his ennimies hath included within it a secrete promes of his godly assistance; which they fand not in the beginning of their interpryses; and therefore they did considder the fearcenes of his displeasure, and did tremble before his angrie face, whose myghtie hand they fand to fight against them; and that wes the cause of their dolorous complaintes, and fearfull crying before their God. What wes the cause that God delt so framedly[3] with the one, and with the uther? We may perchance somewhat speak, when that we shall entreat of the frutes of Fasting, and of those thinges that may holde back from us the assistance of God, even when we prepare us to put his commandement in execution.

The Thride Cause of publict Fasting, is Godes threatninges pronounced, ether against a multitude, or against a persone in particulare. Of the former the exemple is Ninivie, unto the which Jonas cryed, Yet fourtie dayes, and Ninivie shalbe destroyed: which unpleasing tydinges cumming to the eares of the King, he proclamed a Faste, he humbled his owen soule, yea, even to sackcloth, and sitting in the duste, he straitlie commanded reformation of maners in all estates, yea, and that signes of repentance, of terroures, and feare, shuld appeare,[4] not onely in men and wemen, but also in the brute beastes from whome wes all kynde of nurishement commanded to be withdrowen, to witnes that they feared aswell Godes judgementes to fall upone the creatures that served them in their impietie, as upone them selves that had provoked God to that hote

[1] Let his complaint be noted.

[2] Everie commandement of God to do any thing hes the secrete promes of his assistance.

[3] In edit. 1574, "dealt sa fremmedlie."

[4] What shall becume of the hardnes of our heartes in these dayes.—(Marginal notes.)

displeasure. Of the uther the exemple is moste notable (moste notable we say) because that it fell in a wicked man, to wit, in Achab, who by instigation of his wicked wyfe Jesebell, saulde him self to do all iniquitie And yet, when that he hard the fearefull threatninges of God pronounced by the Prophet Elias[1] against him, against his wyfe and hous, he rent his royall garmentes, put on sackcloth, aleipt therein, fasted, and yead baire-footed. What ensewed the one and the uther of these, we shall after heare.

The Fourt Cause of publict Fasting and murning (for they two muste ever be joyned), is iniquitie deprehended, that before wes not ryghtly considdered. The testimony whereof we have in Esdras, after the reduction of the captivitie, and that the temple and the work of the Lordes hous wes stayed. It wes shawen unto Esdras, that the people of Israell, the Preistes and the Levites,[2] were not seperat from the people of the nations, but that they did according to their abhominations; for they maryed unto them selves, and unto their sonnes, the doughters of the Cananites, the Pherisites, Hithetes, Jebusites, Ammorites, Moabites, and Egiptiens, so that the holy sead wes mixt with profane Idolateris: which thing being understand and more deaply considered then it wes before, for then Esdras sawe just cause why the worke of the Lord prospered not in their handes. This considdered, we say Esdras taking upone him the sinne and offence of the whole people, rent his clothes, and pulled furth the heares of his head and beard, sat as a man desolate of all conforte till the evening Sacrifice; and then rysing, he bowed his kneis, and streached furth his hande before the Lord, and made a moste semple and humble confession of all the enormities that were committed be the people, aswell before the Captivitie as after their returning; and ceased not his lamentable complaint unto suche tyme as a great multitude of men, wemen, and childrene, moved by his exemple,[3] weapt vehementlie, and promised redres of that present disordour and impietie.

Of the last Cause of publict Fasting, to wit, the zeale that certane persones beare for preservation of Godes people, for advancing of his glorie, and performing of his worke according to his promes: we have exemples in Mardocheus, Daniell, and in the faithfull assembled at Antioche.[4] For when that Mardocheus herd of that cruell sentence, which, by the procurement of Haman, wes pronounced against his Nation; to wit, that upone a day, statute and affixed, shuld the Jewes, in all the provinces of the King Artaxarses, be destroyed, oulde and yong, men and wemen, and that their substance shuld be exponed in pray.[5] This bloody sentence, we say, being herd, Mardocheus rent

[1] 1 Reg. 11. [2] 1 Esdr. 9. [3] O! that Scotland wolde follow this obedience. [4] Ester. 4; Daniel 9; Actes 13. [5] So intend the Papistes this day.—(Marginal notes.)

his clothes, put on Sackcloth, and Ashes past furth in the middest of the cietie, and cryed with a great and bitter crye; and, coming to the Kinges gate, gave knowledge to Ester what crueltie wes decreed against the Nation of the Jewes, willing her to make intercession to the king in the contrare, who, efter certane excuses, said,[1] "Go and gather all the Jewes that are in Susan, and faste for me, eat not, nor drinke not, thre dayes and thre nyghtes; and I also, and my handmades, shall likewyse faste, and then shall I enter unto the King, although that I shuld perishe."

In this we may clearely se that the zeale that Mardocheus had to preserve the people of God, moved not onely him self to publict fasting, but also Ester, the Quene, her maides, and the whole Jewes that hard of the murther intended, and moved Ester also to hazart her lyfe in going unto the King without his commandement.

Of the uther, to wit, that the earnest desyre that God's servandes have that God will performe his promes, and manteane the worke that he hath begune, exemple we have in Daniell,[2] and in the Actes of the Apostles. For Daniell, understanding the nomber of the yeares forespoken by the Prophet Jeremie, that Jerusalem shuld ly waist, to have bene completit in the first yeare of the reigne of Darius, turned him self unto God, fasted [humbled] him self in sackcloth and ashes, and with unfeaned confession of his owen sinnes, and of the sinnes of the people, he vehementlie prayed, That according to the promises, some tymes made be Moyses, and after rehearsed by the prophet Isay and Jeremie, he wolde suddingly send them deliverance, and that he wolde not delay it for his owen Names sake.[3]

When the Gentiles began to be illuminated,[4] and that Anteochia had so boldely receaved the Evangle of Jesus Christ, that the disciples in it first of all tooke upone them the name of Christianes: The principall men of the same Church, thrusting no dout that the kingdome of Jesus Christ shulde further be enlarged, and that the multitude of the Gentiles shuld be instructed in the ryght way of salvation, fasted and prayed, and, whil that they wer so exercised, charge wes given that Paule and Barnabas shuld be seperated froine the rest, to the worke whereunto God had called them, etc.[5]

Of these former Histories and Scriptures, we may clearely se for what causes publict Fasting and generall supplicationes have bene made in the Churche of God, and ought to be made when that ever the lyke necessities appeare, or occasions are offered. Now let us shortly heare what conforte and frute ensewed the same; for the ennimie, yea, the murtherer of all godly exercise, is desperation; for with what courage can any man with continuance call upone God, if he shall disperatly dout whether God shall accept his prayer or not? How shall he humble him self before

[1] Ester. 4. [2] Daniel 9. [3] Deut. 30; Jerem. 31. [4] Actes 11. [5] Act 13.

his throne, or to what end shall he confesse his offence, if he be not perswaded that there is mercy and good will in God to pardone his sinnes, to accept him in favour, and to grant unto him more then his owen heart, in the middest of his dolour can requyre or ymagine.

Trew it is, that this vennome of disperation is never throughlie purged from our heartes, so long as we cary this mortall carcasse. But yet the constant promises of our God, and the manyfolde documentes of his mercy and help, showen unto men in their greatest extremitie, ought to animat us to follow their exemple, and to hope for the same successe that they have gotten abufe mannes expectation. Josaphat, after his humiliation[1] and prayer, obtened the victorie, with out the lose of any of his soldioures; for the Lord reased Ammon and Moab against the inhabitantes of Mount Seir, who being utterly destroyed,[2] everie one of the ennemies of God's people, lift his sworde against another, till that of that godles multitude, there was not one left alive. Josua and the Israelites after their dejection wer conforted againe. Ninive was preserved, albeit that Jonas had cryed destruction. Yea, Achab, notwithstanding all his ungodlynes,[3] lost not the frute of his humiliation, but wes recompensed with delay of the uttermoste of the plagues, during his lyfetyme. The murning of Esdras wes turned into joy, when that he saw the people willing to obey God, and the worke of the hous of the Lord to go fordwart. The bitter crying of Mardocheus, and the painefull fasting of Ester, were aboundantly rewarded, when not onely wes the people of God preserved, but Haman their mortall ennimie wes hanged upon the same gallous that he had prepared for Mardocheus.

Daniell, after his fasting, confession, and prayer, gat moste notable revelationes and assurance, that his people shuld be delivered, yea, that in all extremities they shuld be preserved, till that the Messias promysed unto them shuld come, and manifestly showe him self. And the godly of Anteochea wer not frustrate of their conforte, when they herd how potently God had wrought amongest the Gentiles, by the ministerie of Barnabas and Paule. So that we may boldely conclude, that as God hath never despised the petitions of such as with unfeaned heartes have soght his comfort in their necessities, so will he not send us away emptie and voyd, if with trew repentance we seak his face.

If any wolde aske, In what extremitie we finde our selves now to be that heretofore we have not sene, and what are the occasiones that shuld move us now to humble our selves before our God by Publict Fasting, more then that we did in the beginning, when this Evangile

[1] The frutes of trew Fasting, and unfeaned invocation of God.

[2] Let all thy ennimies perishe, O Lord.

[3] Unfeaned humiliation temporally profiteth the verray reprobat.—(Marginal notes.)

wes now last offered unto us, for then, by all apperance, we and it in our persones stoode in greater danger, then we do yet? We answer, that the causes are mo then for greif of heart we can expresse. First, because that in the beginning we had not refused God's graces,[1] but contrariwyse with such fervencie we receaved them, that we could beare with no kinde of impietie; but for the suppressing of the same we nether had respect to frende, possession, land, or lyfe, but all we put in hasard that God's treuth myght be advansed, and idolatrie myght be suppressed. And, therefore did our God, by the mouth of his messingers, in all our adversities, assure us that our ennimies shuld not prevale against us, but that they shuld be subdewed under us, that our God shuld be glorified in our semple and upryght dealing.[2] But now, sence that carnall wisdome hath perswaded us to beare with manifest idolatrie, and to suffer this Realme, which God hath once purged, to be polluted againe with that abhomination; yea, alace, since that some of us, that God made sometymes instrumentes to suppresse that impietie, have bene the cheif men to conduct and convoy that Idole throughout all the quarters of this Realme; yea, to the houses of them that sometymes detested the Masse, as the Devill and his service; sence that time, we say, we have found the face of our God angrie against us, his threatninges have bene sharpe in the mouthes of his Messingers; which albeit for the tyme we dispysed and mocked, yet the just experience convicteth us that we were wicked, and that they in threatning us did nothing but the dewtie of God's trew Messingers.[3]

And this is the Second cause that move us to this publict humiliation, rather now then in the beginning; to wit, that then we followed God, and not carnall wisedome, and therefore made he few in nomber fearefull to many, fooles before the world to confound the wyse, and such as before never had experience in armes, made God so bolde and so prosperous in all their interpryses, that the expertest souldioures feared the poore plowmen; yea, our God faught for us by sea and by land, he moved the heartes of strangers to supporte us, and to spend their lives for our releif. But now, alace, we se no signe of his former favour, for wisdome or manhead, strength and freindes, honour and blood, joyned with godlynes, are fallen before our eyes, to let us understand what shall be our destruction, if in time we turne not to our God, before that his wrathe be further kindled. But this is not the end: For esperance (or at least some opinion) had men before that God shulde move the Quenis Majesties heart, to heare the blissed Evangle of Jesus Christ truelie preached, and so consequentlie that she shuld abandone all Idolatrie and fals Religion: But now she hath given

[1] Causes that now move us to faste, that moved us not befor.

[2] Let the faithful call to mynde.

[3] God grant that men may yet consider.—(Marginal notes.)

answer in plaine wordes, that that Religion in which she hath bene nourished (and that is meare abhomination) she will manteane and defend. And in declaratioun thereof, of laite dayes, there is erected a displayed baner against Jesus Christ. For corrupted Hypocrites, and suche as have bene knowen deceavers of the people, are now authorized to spew out their vennome against Jesus Christ, his eternall trueth, and trew Messingers of the same. That Idole, the Masse, is now againe in divers places erected. And what hereof may ensew, yea, or what we may looke shalbe the end of suche unhappy beginninges, we desyre the godly deaply to considder.

But let it be granted that we had not fallen back from our former fervencie; that we saw not God's angrie face threatning us with more fearefull plagues to follow; that the best parte of our Nobilitie wer not exiled this Realme, neither yet that our Soverane were ennimie to our religion, that she beare no greater favour to flattering freres and to corrupted Papistes, then she doeth to our poore Preachers. Supponing, we say, that none of these foresaid causes we had to move us (as that we have them all, and mo, if that we list to recompt them), yet is there one, which if it move us not to humiliation, we showe our selves more then insensible. For now is Sathan so enraged against Jesus Christ, and so odius is the light of his Evangile unto that Romaine Antichrist,[1] that to suppresse it in one province, Realme, or Nation, he thinketh it nothing, unles that in all Europe the godlie, and suche as abhorre the Papisticall impietie, be therewith also utterly distroyed, and so rased from the face of the earth, that no memorie of them shal after remaine.

If any think that suche crueltie cannot fall into the heartes of men, we send them to be resolved of those Fathers of the last Counsall of Trent, who, in one of their Sessions, have thus concluded:[2] "All Lutheriens, Calvinistes, and suche as are of the new Religion, shall utterlie be exterminate. The beginning shalbe in France, by conducting of the Catholik kinge, Philip of Spaine, and by some of the Nobilitie of France; which mater (say they) put to some stay, the whole force of bothe, together with the Pope's army, and force of the Dukes of Savoy and Farrar,[3] shall assault Geneva, and shall not leave it till that they have put it to sack, saving in it no leving creature." And with the same mercie shal so many of France, as have taisted of the new religion be served.[4] Frome thence expedition shalbe made against the Germaines, to reduce them to the obedience of the Apostolick seat. And so shall they procead to other Realmes and Nationes, never ceasing till that all be exterminate that will not make homage to that Romaine Idole. How

[1] The suppressing of Christes holy Evangle wes decried [decreed] in the last Counsall of Trent.

[2] The Counsall of Trent.

[3] In later edits., Ferrare, or Ferrara.

[4] The mercie of the Fathers of Trent.

fearefull a beginning this conclusion and determination had, France will remember mo ages then one: For how many, abufe a hundreth thousand men, wemen, babes, virgines, matrones, and aged fathers, suffered, some by sworde, some by water, some by fyre, and uther tormentes; the verray ennimies themselves are compelled to acknowledge. And albeit that God of his mercie in a parte disappoynted there cruell interpryses, yet let us not thinke that their will is changed, or their malice asswaged. No, let us be assured, that they abyde but oportunitie to finishe the worke, that cruellie against God, against his trueth, and the trew professoures of the same, they have begune. The whisperinges whereof are not secrete, neither yet the tokenes obscure, for the trafique of that dragone, now with the Princes of the earth, [and] his promyses and flattering entysementes, tend to none uther end, but to inflambe them against Jesus Christ, and against the trew professoures of his Evangle. For who can thinke that the Pope, Cardinalles, and horned Bishopes, will offer the greatest portion of their rentes, for susteaning of a warre whereof no commoditie shuld redound (as they suppose) to themselves? If any think that we accuse them without cause, let them heare their owen wordes; for this they wrate neare the end of the same Decree:[1]

"And to the end that the holy Fathers on their parte, appeare not to be negligent or unwilling to give their ayde and supporte unto so holy a warre, or to spaire their owen rentes and money; have added, that the Cardinales[2] shall content themselves of the yearely rent of five or six thousand ducates, and the rychest Bishope of two or three thousand at the moste; and to give franckly the rest of their revenues, to the intertenement of the warre, which is made for the extirpation of the Lutherians and Calvinistes sect; and for reestablishing of the Romaine Churche, till suche tyme as the mater be conducted to a good and happy end."

If these be not open declarationes in what danger all faithful stand, if they can bring their crueltie to passe, let verray idiots judge. But let us heare their conclusion. "France and Germanie, (say they) being by these meanes so chastised, abased, and conducted to the obedience of the holie Romaine Church, the Fathers dout not but tyme shall provide both counsal and commoditie, that the rest of the Realmes about may be reduced to one flok,[4] and one Apostolick governour and Pastour," &c.

By this conclusion, we thinke that the verray blinde may see what is purposed against the Saintes of God in all Realmes and Nationes, to

[1] The wordes of the Counsall of Trent.

[2] These are the successoures of the Apostles.

[3] No man nedeth dout of the liberalitie of those Fathers, so that Christ Jesus may be crucified, and his Evangle exiled.

[4] Let Scotland advert.—(Marginal notes.)

refused their whole abhominationes, and, amongest the rest, that their supersticious and Pharisaicall maner of Fasting; so even unto this day do we continew in the same purpose, boldely affirming that their Fasting is no Fasting that ever God approved, but that it is a deceaving of the people, and a meare mocking of God, which moste evidentlie will appeare. If in the Scriptures we searche what is the ryght end of Fasting, what Fasting pleased God, and which it is that his soul abhorreth.

Of Fasting, in the Scriptures we finde two sortes; the one private, the other publicte. The private, is that which man or woman doeth in secrete, and before their God, for such causes as their owen conscience beareth record unto them. As David, during the time that his Sone, which wes begotten in adulterie, wes struken with mortall seicknes, fasted, weapt, and lay upon the ground, because that in the seicknes of the Chylde he did considder Godes displeasure against him self; for the removing whereof he fasted, murned, and prayed unto such tyme as he saw Godes wil fulfilled, by the awaytaking of the Chylde. Privatlie fasted Anna, wyfe to Alcana,[1] even in the verray Solempne Feastes, during the time of hir barrennes; for she weapt and eat nothing, but in the bitternes of hir heart she prayed unto the Lord; nether ceased she from sorow and murning, unto suche tyme as Eli the hie preist concurred with her in prayers, by whose mouth, after that he had hard her petifull complaint, she receaved conforte.

Of this Fasting, speaketh oure Maister, Jesus Christ, in these words, "When ye fast, be not sowr as the Hypocrytes, for they disfigure their faces that they may seme unto men to fast; but thow, when thow fastest, anoynt thy heade and washe thy face, that thow seame not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which seeth in secrete, and will rewarde thee opinly."[2] Of the same no dout speaketh the Apostle, when that he sayeth, "Defraude not one another, except it be with consent for a tyme, that ye may give yourselves to Fasting and prayer."[3]

To this private Fasting, which standeth chiefly in a temperat dyet, and in powring furthe of our secrete thoughtes and necessities before God, can be prescrived no certane rule, certane tyme, nor certane ceremonies; but as the Causes and occasiones why that exercise is used are divers (yea, so divers that seldome it is that many at ones are moved with one cause), so are diet, tyme, together with all uther circumstances, requyred to suche Fasting, put in the libertie of them that use it. To this Fasting we have bene faithfully and earnestly exhorted by oure Preachers, as oft as the Scriptures, which they entreated, offered unto them occasion. And we dout not but the godlie within this Realme have used the same as necessitie craved, albeit with the Papistes we blew no trumpetes, to appoynt thereto certane dayes.

[1] In edit. 1574, "wyfe to Elcana."—1 Sam. 1. [2] Math. 6. [3] 1 Cor. 7.

The uther kynde of Fasting is publict; so called, because that it is openlie avowed, some tymes of a Realme, some tymes of a multitude, some tymes of a cietie, and some tymes of a meaner company, yea, some tymes of particulare persones, and yet publictlie used, and that for the wealth of a multitude. The Causes thereof are also divers;[1] for sometymes the feare of ennimies, some tymes the angrie face of God punishing, some tymes his threatning to distroy, some tymes iniquitie deprehended that ryghtlie before wes not considered, and some tymes the earnest zeale that some beare for preservation of Godes people, for advancing of his glorie, and performing of his worke according to his promes, move men to publicte Fasting, confession of their sinnes, and solempned prayers, for defence against their ennimies, recovering of Godes favoures, removing of his plagues, preservation of his people, and setting fordwarde of that worke, which he hath of his mercie promised to finishe, as in the subsequent probationes evidently shall appeare.

When Messingers came to Josaphat, saying, "There cometh a great multitude against thee, from beyond the sea, out of Aram (that is Syria), etc.,[2] Josaphat feared, and set him self to seke the Lord, and proclamed a Faste throughout all Juda. And Juda gathered them selves together, to aske counsall of the Lord; they come even out of all the cieties of Juda to inquyre of the Lord. And Josaphat stoode in the congregation of Juda and Jerusalem, in the hous of the Lord, before the new court; and all Juda stoode before the Lord with their yonge ones, their wyfes and their chyldrene. And Josaphat said, O Lord God of our fathers, are not thow God in heaven, and reignest not thow in all Kingdomes of the heathen? And in thy hand is power and myght, and none is able to withstand thee.[3] Haste not thow, our God, cast out the inhabitantes of this land before thy people Israell, and haste given it to the sead of Abraham, thy freind, for ever? etc. But now the Ammorytes, and Moabytes, and the Mont Seir, ar come to cast us out of thy possession. O Lord our God, shall thow not judge them? In us there is no strength to stand against this great multitude that commeth against us, nether knowe we what to do; but unto thee are our eyes bent, etc." Of this Historie we have the first Cause of publict Fasting, and the solempnitie thereof sufficiently prowen. For the feare of ennimies compelled Josaphat to seik the Lord; he knowing him selfe burdened with the care of the people, exhorted them to do the same. They fra all cieties and quarters repared to Jerusalem, whereupone a statute daye the King and the people, yea, wyves and childrene, presented them selves before the Lord, in his holy Temple,[4] exponed their necessitie, implored his helpe against that enraged multitude, that alwayes

[1] Causes that ought to move men to publict Fasting.

[2] 2 Paral. i. 20.

[3] The prayer of Josaphat.

[4] The ceremonie of publicte Fasting.

wes ennimie to Godes people, and gave open confession of their owen weaknes, leaning onely to the promes and protection of the Omnipotent. Which exemple, we and everie people likewyse assaulted, may and ought to follow in everie poynt. This onely excepted, that we are not bound to convene at any one appoynted place, as they did at Jerusalem. For to no one certane and severall place is that promes made, that then wes made to the Temple at Jerusalem,[1] which wes, that whatsoever men in their extremitie shuld ask of God in it, God shuld grant it from his holie habitation in the heaven. Jesus the Messias, then looked for, whose presence wes sought in the mercie seat, and betuix the Cherubinnes, is now entered within the vale, that is, in the heaven, and there abydeth onely Mediator for us, unto whome, from all the coastes of the earth, we may lift up pure handes,[2] direct our prayers, supplicationes, and complaintes, and be assured that they shalbe receaved, in whatsoever place we convene. And yet, in tyme of suche publict exercyses, we wolde wishe that all men and wemen shuld repare to suche places as their conscience may be best instructed, their Faith moste edified, repentance moste lively sturred up in them, and they by Godes worde may be moste assured that their just peticions shall not be repelled: Which thinges can not be done so lively in secrete and private meditation as that they are in publict Assemblie, where Christ Jesus is trewly preached: And this muche shortlie for the Firste head.

Of the Second, to wit, that the angrie face of God punishing aught to dryve us to publicte fasting, and humiliation of our soules before our God, we have two notable exemples, the one written in Josua; who, hearing and understanding that Israell had turned the back before the Cananites, and the elders of Israel rent their clothes, fell upone their faces before the Arke of the Lord unto the nyght,[3] and caste dust upone their heades, in signe of their humiliation and dejection. The uther is expressed in the booke of the Judges; where Israell, being commanded by God to fight against Benjamin,[4] because that they menteaned wicked men that deserved death, loste the first day twentie two thousand of their armie, and the second day eightene thousand. At the firste lose they were lyghtlie touched, and asked counsall if they shulde renew the battel; but at the second overthrow, the whole people repared unto the hous of the Lord, sat there, weapt before the Lord, and fasted that day unto the night; for then began they to considder Godes angrie face against them.

In this last historie there appeareth just cause why the people shulde have rune to the onely refuge of God, because that their first armie of fourtie thousand men wes utterlie distroyed. But what just occasion

[1] The promeis made to the temple of Jerusalem is now to be soght in Christe Jesus. Hebr. 7.

[2] In edit. 1574, "to lyft up oure handes;" 1 Timo. 2.

[3] Josua, 7.

[4] Judj. 20.

had Josua so lamentablie to complaine,[1] yea, so boldely as it were to accuse God, that he had deceaved him in that, that against his promeis he had suffered Israell to fall before their ennimies. Wes the lose of threttе men (no mo fel that day in the edge of the sword) so great a mater, that he shuld despare of any better successe, that he shulde accuse God that he had brought them over Jordane, and that he shuld feare that the whole army of the Lord shuld be inveroned aboute, and consumed in the rage of their ennimies? Yea, if Israell had onely looked no further then to the lose of the fourty thousand men, they had bene but feable soldioures, for they had sufficient strength remaning behinde; for what were fourtie thousand, in respect of all the trybes of Israell?

Nay, nay, (deare Brethren) it wes an uther thing then the present lose, that terrified and effrayed their consciences, and made them so effeminatlie (so wold fleshe judge) to complaine, weap, and owle before God; to wit, they saw his angrie face against them; they saw his hand fortifie their ennimies, and to fight against them, whome both he had commanded to fight, and had promised to give them victorie.[2] For everie commandement of God to do any thing against his ennimies hath included within it a secrete promes of his godly assistance; which they fand not in the beginning of their interpryses; and therefore they did considder the fearcenes of his displeasure, and did tremble before his angrie face, whose myghtie hand they fand to fight against them; and that wes the cause of their dolorous complaintes, and fearfull crying before their God. What wes the cause that God delt so framedly[3] with the one, and with the uther? We may perchance somewhat speak, when that we shall entreat of the frutes of Fasting, and of those thinges that may holde back from us the assistance of God, even when we prepare us to put his commandement in execution.

The Thride Cause of publict Fasting, is Godes threatninges pronounced, ether against a multitude, or against a persone in particulare. Of the former the exemple is Ninivie, unto the which Jonas cryed, Yet fourtie dayes, and Ninivie shalbe destroyed: which unpleasing tydinges cumming to the eares of the King, he proclamed a Faste, he humbled his owen soule, yea, even to sackcloth, and sitting in the duste, he straitlie commanded reformation of maners in all estates, yea, and that signes of repentance, of terroures, and feare, shuld appeare,[4] not onely in men and wemen, but also in the brute beastes from whome wes all kynde of nurishement commanded to be withdrowen, to witnes that they feared aswell Godes judgementes to fall upone the creatures that served them in their impietie, as upone them selves that had provoked God to that hote

[1] Let his complaint be noted.

[2] Everie commandement of God to do any thing hes the secrete promes of his assistance.

[3] In edit. 1574, "dealt sa fremmedlie."

[4] What shall becume of the hardnes of our heartes in these dayes.—(Marginal notes.)

The ceremonie, and the certane statute day, we knowe to be abolished at the comming of Christ Jesus, together with the rest of the figurall ceremonies; but the effect thereof shall abyde so long as there abydeth an trew Church upon the face of the earth, unto the which repentance and remission of sinnes are publictly preached; and therefore, albeit we have no corporall punishment to inflict upone the contemners of that Godly exercise, yet have we the spiritual sword, which ones will stricke sorer then any materiall sword can or may.

The judgementes and justice of our God are immutable;[1] he abydeth the same and one God that drowned the world by water; that consumed Sodome and Gomorha with fyre from heaven;[2] that plagued Pharo,[3] destroyed Jerusalem, and hath executed his fearce judgementes in all ages, yea, and even before our eyes. It is the same God (we say) that this day by his faithfull servandes calleth us to repentance, whose voces if we contempne, we declare our selves Rebellious to our God, mockers of his threatninges, and suche as sometymes in despyte cryed, "We will walk according to the lust of our owen heartes,[4] and let the counsal of the holy one of Israell cum as it list," etc. And if so we do, then wo, yea, wo and double damnation unto us, for then even as assuredly as God liveth,[5] so assuredly shall the plagues that oure eares have oft heard, be poured furth upone us, even in the eyes of this same perverst generation, with whome we contempne God, and before whome we are nether feared nor eshamed stubburnlye to procead from sinne to contempt. Our hope is better of yow (deare Brethren) that have professed the Lord Jesus with us within this Realme, albeit that this we speake to let yow understand what Rebellion hath bene in flesh before us, and how it hath bene punished, that we may learne to stoupe before our God by unfeaned repentance; and then we shall be assured that, according to the promes made by the mouth of Joel, our God shal leave unto us a benediction, albeit that the vehement fyre of his wraith shall consume the inobedient.

But now, least that we shoulde thinke that the observation of the ceremonie is ynough to please God, we must understand what thinges must be joined with fructful Fasting, and what thinges they are that may make our Fasting odious to our God. And first we have to understand, that Fasting by it selfe considdered, is no suche thing as the Papistes heretofore have ymagined; to wit, that it is a worke meritorious, and a satisfaction for the sinnes before committed.[6] No, all they that faste with that intent, renounceth the merites of Christ's death and passion, in so farre as they ascrive to Fasting (whiche is but an exercise used by man) that whiche is onely proper to Jesus Christ; which is, that he by offering

[1] Malach. 3. [2] Gen. 7; Gen. 19.
[3] Exod. 8, 9, 10, & 14.
[4] Isay 22; Jere. 2, 5, 6.
[5] Let Scotland yet be forewairned.
[6] The opinion of Papistical Fasting. (Marginal notes.)

his clothes, put on Sackcloth, and Ashes past furth in the middest of the cietie, and cryed with a great and bitter crye; and, coming to the Kinges gate, gave knowledge to Ester what crueltie wes decreed against the Nation of the Jewes, willing her to make intercession to the king in the contrare, who, efter certane excuses, said,[1] "Go and gather all the Jewes that are in Susan, and faste for me, eat not, nor drinke not, thre dayes and thre nyghtes; and I also, and my handmades, shall likewyse faste, and then shall I enter unto the King, although that I shuld perishe."

In this we may clearely se that the zeale that Mardocheus had to preserve the people of God, moved not onely him self to publict fasting, but also Ester, the Quene, her maides, and the whole Jewes that hard of the murther intended, and moved Ester also to hazart her lyfe in going unto the King without his commandement.

Of the uther, to wit, that the earnest desyre that God's servandes have that God will performe his promes, and manteane the worke that he hath begune, exemple we have in Daniell,[2] and in the Actes of the Apostles. For Daniell, understanding the nomber of the yeares forespoken by the Prophet Jeremie, that Jerusalem shuld ly waist, to have bene completit in the first yeare of the reigne of Darius, turned him self unto God, fasted [humbled] him self in sackcloth and ashes, and with unfeaned confession of his owen sinnes, and of the sinnes of the people, he vehementlie prayed, That according to the promises, some tymes made be Moyses, and after rehearsed by the prophet Isay and Jeremie, he wolde suddingly send them deliverance, and that he wolde not delay it for his owen Names sake.[3]

When the Gentiles began to be illuminated,[4] and that Anteochia had so boldely receaved the Evangle of Jesus Christ, that the disciples in it first of all tooke upone them the name of Christianes: The principall men of the same Church, thrusting no dout that the kingdome of Jesus Christ shulde further be enlarged, and tha[t] the multitude of the Gentiles shuld be instructed in the ryght way of salvation, fasted and prayed, and, whil that they wer so exercised, charge wes given that Paule and Barnabas shuld be seperated frome the rest, to the worke whereunto God had called them, etc.[5]

Of these former Histories and Scriptures, we may clearely se for what causes publict Fasting and generall supplicationes have bene made in the Churche of God, and ought to be made when that ever the lyke necessities appeare, or occasions are offered. Now let us shortly heare what conforte and frute ensewed the same; for the ennimie, yea, the murtherer of all godly exercise, is desperation; for with what courage can any man with continuance call upone God, if he shall disperatly dout whether God shall accept his prayer or not? How shall he humble him self before

[1] Ester. 4. [2] Daniel 9. [3] Deut. 30; Jerem. 31. [4] Actes 11. [5] Act 13.

We may plainely se whereupon this excellent servand of God grounded himself to purches God's favour; to wit, upone the Lord, that is, upone the Saviour and Mediator promised, upone the moste aboundant mercie of God, and upone God himselfe; for he understoode what God had promised, aswell by the mouth of Moyses, as by the Prophet Isais, saying: "Beholde that I am, yea, even I am the Lord, and there is no God but I: I kill, and I give lyfe againe: I give the wound, and I shall heale:[1] For my owen Names saike will I do it, sayeth the Eternall." Apone these and the lyke promises, we say, did all the Sainctes of God in all their extremities depend, and did looke to receave comforte, without all respect to their owen workes; they dampned the best of their owen workes, and called them nothing but filthiness before God.[2] And therefore yet, as of before, we boldely affirme, that the Papisticall fasting wes not onlie vaine (for what fasting is it to absteane from fleshe, and to fill the bellie with fishe, wyne, spyce, and uther delicates?) but also it wes odious unto God,[3] and blasphemous to the death of Jesus Christ, for the causes forewritten. And this muche shortly for those thinges that must be joyned with frutefull Fasting.

Now we have to consider what thinges may make our Fasting odious, besydes this proude opinion of merite, whereof we have spoken.

It is no dout but that infidelitie[4] maketh all the workes of the reprobate odious before God, yea, even when that they do the verray workes that God hath commanded, as we may read in Matt. 5. 6. and 7., Isai 1. and 66. etc., and divers uther places. But because that infidelitie lurketh oft in the heart, and can not well be espyed but by the bitter and rotten frutes that spring thereof, the Spirite of God hath painted furthe unto us in plaine wordes, what vices may make us and all our workes odious before our God, so that nether will he heare our prayers, nor regarde our fasting. Salomon sayeth, "He that ditteth[5] his eare from the crye of the poore, his prayer shalbe abhominable before God."[6] And Isai, in the persone of God, sayeth: "Albeit that ye shall stretche out your handes, and multiplie your prayers, yet will I not heare yow; for your handes are full of blood."[7] But most plainely to our purpose speaketh the same Prophet, saying: "The hous of Jacob daylie seaketh me, and they wolde knowe my wayes, as a nation that wrought justice, and that had not left the judgement of their God.[8] They ask me judgementes of justice (that is, they querrell with me), and they desyre that God shall drowe neare. Why have we fasted (say they) and thou beholdest not? We have afflicted our soules, and thow misknowest it."

[1] Deut. 32.

[2] Esay. 64.

[3] The Papisticall Fasting vaine and blasphemus.

[4] Infidelitie maketh all the workes of the reprobate odious before God.—(Marginal notes.)

[5] In edit. 1596, "closes;" in edit. 1611, and others, "stoppis."

[6] Pro. 21. [7] Isay 1. [8] Isay 58.

The Prophet answereth in the persone of God, and sayeth, "Beholde in the day of your Faste, ye will seak your will, and require all your dettes: beholde ye faste to strife and debaite, and to smyte with the fist of wickednes: ye shall not Faste as they do to daye, to make your voice be heard above," that is, to oppresse uthers; so that they are compelled to crye unto God. "Is it suche a faste that I have chosen? That a man shuld afflict his soule for a day, and to bow downe his head as a bulrash, and to ly downe in sackcloth and ashes? Wilt thow call this a Fasting, or an acceptable day unto the Lord? Is not this the Fasting that I have chosen, to louse the bandes of wickednes,[1] to take of the heavie burdinges, and to let the oppressed go fre, and that ye break everie yock? Is it not to deale thy bread unto the hongrie; and that thow bring the poore that wandreth unto thy hous? When thow seest the nacked, that thow cover him; and hyde not thy self from thy owen fleshe. Then shall thy light break furth as the morning, and thy health shall growe spedelie, thy righteousnese shall go before thee, and the glorie of the Lord shall embrase thee," etc. In these most notable sentences, and in suche as follow in the same place, we have to marck what thinges may make our Fasting to be rejected of God; what he craveth of suche as faste frutfullie; and what promes he maketh to such as obey him. This people externallie professed God, they daylie sought his face, by reparing to the Temple, hearing of the Law, and exercising of the sacrifices; yet did God plague them in mo sortes then one, as in the Bookis of the Kinges and Cornickles we may read. In their extremitie they ran (as to them appeared) to the uttermoste refuge, they Fasted, and unfeanedly humbled their bodies, for that the Prophet meaneth, when that he sayeth, that they Fasted till that their neckes were weakned, and made faint as a bullrashe, for verray lacke of corporall foode. They layed of their gorgious garmentes, and put on sackcloth, &c.; and yet wer their troubles nothing releved. And that wes the cause why they querreled with God, and said: "Why have we fasted, and thou hast not sene?" &c. And in verray deed, to the natural man it wes strange; for God had promised that he wolde conforte his people whensoever they shuld humble themselves before him, notwithstanding their former iniquitie.[2]

In the externall ceremonies, nor in the corporall exercises, there could no fault be espyed. Why then doeth not God heare them? complaine they? God answereth, that their outwarde profession wes but hypocrisie, their Fasting wes but mocking of God, and their prayers could do nothing but provoke him to further displeasure. Because that albeit they reteaned the Name of God, and albeit that they appeared in his Temple, yet had they forsaken bothe his judgementes,

[1] O that Scotland shuld understand and follow.—(Marginal note.)

[2] Deut. 3; 2 Reg. 8.

statutes, and holie ordinances. Albeit the bodie stouped, and wes afflicted by fasting, yet remained the heart proude and rebellious against God,[1] for they followed their owen corrupted wayes: they oppressed suche as were subject unto them, their heavie yock lay upone the neckes of suche as could not ridde themselves from their bondage. Amonges them were stryfe, debaite, whisperinges of malice, yea open contention and manifest violence, which all were evident declarations of proud heartes, and impenitent soulles. And therefore God giveth unto them open defyance, in the tyme when they think that they seak his peace moste earnestly. And hereto ought we this day, that professe the Lord Jesus, and have renounced abhominations of Papistrie within the Realme of Scotland, give diligent head. For it is not the semple knoweledge of the trueth onelie, nor yet the externall profession of the same, that is acceptable before God.[2] Nay, nay, deare Brethrene, he requireth the frutes of repentance,[3] and they are, to declyne from evill, and to do good, as we may read in many places of the Scripture. Think we it a thing agreeable with the nature of the Eternall our God, that he shall receave us in favour, after that we have offended, and we will not for his saike remit the injuries that are done to us? Can we thinke to be at peace with him, when that we stubburnelie will continew in strife amonges our selves? Shal he relieve our greif, bondage, or yock, and we will not relieve the burdinges that unjustly we lay upone our brethrene? Shal he bestowe his undeserved mercie upon us, and we can showe no bowels of mercie to such as we se in miserie before our eyes? Let us not be deceaved, God can not deny himself. Murther, malice, hatrent, crueltie, oppression, stryfe, thift, deceat, injust dealing, covetousnes, avaritiousnes, and unmercifulnes unto the poore, besydes pryde, horedome, adulterie, wantonnes, and the rest of the workes of the flesh, are so odious before God,[4] that whill that any of them reigneth in the heart of man, he and his whole workes are detestable before God. And therefore if we desyre that God's fearfull judgementes shalbe stayed, let us (that knowe the trueth, and say that we professe the same) unfenedlie returne unto our God. Let us not be inferioures to the king of Ninivie, who commanded everie man to turne from his wicked wayes, and from the iniquitie that wes in his hands. Let us considder what our God craveth of us; but especiallie let Earles, Lordes, Barrons, burgesses, and artificers, considder by what meanes their substances are increassed.

It is not yneugh to justifie us before God, that Civile Lawes cannot accuse us.[5] Nay, Brethrene, the eyes of our God pearseth deaper then

[1] Let everie man examine his owen conscience.

[2] Psal. 34.

[3] 1 Pet. 3.

[4] The workes that may make oure Fasting odious.

[5] Christiane justice craveth more than Civile Lawes.—(Marginal notes.)

mannes law can streache. The law of man cannot convict the Earle, the Lord, the Barrone, or Gentilman, for oppressing of the poore labourers of the ground; for his defence is ready, I may do with my owen as best pleaseth me. The Merchand is just yneugh in his owen conceat, if before men he can not be convict of thift and deceat. The Artificer and Craftisman thinketh himselfe fre before God, albeit that he nether worke sufficient stuffe, nor yet sell for reasonable price: The worlde is evil (sayeth he), and how can men live if they do not as uther do? And thus doeth every man leane upon the iniquitie of an other, and thinketh himself sufficientlie excused when that he meitteth craft with craft, and repulseth back violence ether with deceat or els with open injurie. Let us be assured, deare brethren, that these be the sinnes which heretofore have provoked God, not onlie to plague, but also to destroy, and utterlie overthrowe stronge realmes and flourishing commonwealthes.[1]

Now, seing that the justice and judgementes of our God abyde for ever, and that he hath solempnedlie pronounced, that everie realme, nation, or cietie that sinneth, as did Juda and Jerusalem,[2] shall be likewise punished. Let that fearefull destruction that came upone them, into the whiche, after honger and pest, the sworde devoured without discretion the ryche and poore,[3] the noble, and those that were of basse degre;[4] the yong and olde, the priests and prophetes, yea, the matrones and virgines, eschaped not the day of that sharp visitation. Let their punishment (we say) provoke us to repentance; and so no dout we shall finde favour in the sight of our God, albeit that he hath begune to shew unto us evident signes of his displeasure justlie conceaved against us.[5] But (as God forbide) if we mocke his Messingers, and despyse his wordes, till that there be no remeadie, as they did, then can we (whome God hath rased up to instruct and forewarne yow) do nothing but take witnesse of heaven and earth, yea, and of your owen conscience, that we have faithfullie instructed yow in the right way of God, aswell concerning his trew worshipping as in doing of your dewties one to another; and also that we have forewarned yow of the plagues to come, firste by our tounges, and now by our pen, for a perpetuall memoriall to the posteritie that shall follow, who shall glorifie God ether for your conversion, or els for your just condemnation and seveire punishmentes, if ye continew inobedient.

To prescrive to everie man his dewtie in particulare, we can not, because we knowe not whereintill everie man, and everie estate particularlie offendeth; but we must remit every estate, and everie man in his vocation, to the examination of his owen conscience; and that according as God commandeth in his hole Law, and as Christ Jesus

[1] Consulte with the 22d Chapter of the Prophet Ezechiell.
[2] Jere. 7.
[3] 2 Paral. 26
[4] 2 Reg. 25.
[5] Paral. 36.

requireth, that suche as shall possesse the kingdome with him shall do: which is, "Whatsoever (sayeth he) that ye wolde men shulde do unto yow, do ye the like unto them."[1] By this reule, whiche the author of all equitie, justice, and policie hath established, send we the Earles, Lordes, Barrons, and gentilmen to trye their owen consciences, whether that they wolde be content that they shuld be entreated (if God had made them husbandmen and laubowrers of the ground), as they have entreated, and presentlie doeth entreate, suche as sometymes had a moderate and resonable life under their predecessours; whether, we say, that they wolde be content that their steadinges and malinges should be raised from male to ferme, from one ferme to two, and so going upward, till that for povertie the ancient laubourers are compelled to leave the ground in the handes of the lord. If with this entreatment they wolde be content, we appeale [to] their owen conscience; and if they thinke that they wolde not, then, in God's Name we require them to begin to reforme themselves, and to remember that it is not we, but that it is Christ Jesus that so craveth of them. And unto the same reule we send Judges, Lawers, Merchandes, Artificers, and finallie, even the verray labourers of the ground themselves, that everie one in his vocation may trye how justlie, uprightlie, and mercyfullie he dealeth with his Nighboure: And if he finde his conscience accused by the former sentence of our Master, let him call for grace, that he may not onelie repent for the by past, but also amend in tymes to cume; and so shall their Fasting and Prayers be acceptable unto God.

If men think that we require the thing that is unpossible, for what were this els but to reforme the face of the whole earth? which never wes, nor yet shalbe, till that the righteous King and Judge appeare for the restauration of all thinges: We answer, that we speak not to the godless multitude, nether yet to such as are mockers of God's judgementes, whose portion is in this life,[2] and for whome the fyre of hell (which now they mock) is assuredlie prepared. But we speak to such as have professed the Lord Jesus with us, who have communicated with his blessed Sacramentes, have renounced idolatrie, and have avowed themselves to be new creatures in Jesus Christ, in whome they are ingrafted as livelie branches, apt to bring furth good frute.[3] Now, why it shuld be thought unpossible that these men (of what vocation that ever they be) shulde begin to expresse in their lives, that which in worde they have publictlie professed, we se no good reasone, unles that we wolde say that it is unpossible that God shall now work in men of this age, as we read that he hath wrought in men before us; and that were blasphemie.

Seing that the hand of our God is no more shortned towardes us

[1] Matth. 7. [2] Matth. 25. [3] Ioan. 15.

then it hath bene towardes those that have past before us.[1] At God's semple commandement, Abraham left his father's hous and native countrie.[2] Moyses preferred the condition of the people of Israell, even in their greatest affliction, to the ryches and glorie of Pharos Courte.[3] David, upon the unction of Samuell, did pacientlie abide the persecution of Saul many yeares.[4] Zacheus, at an dennar with Christ Jesus, wes not onelie content to restore whatsoever he had before defrauded, but also to give the half of all his substance to the sustentation of the poore.[5] And the faithfull, in the dayes of the Apostles, solde their possessions and ministrat unto the indigent.[6] None of these excellent workes crave we of the faithfull in our age, but onely those without the which the spirite of sanctification cannot be knowen to be in man; to wit, that everie man speak the trueth with his brother;[7] that none oppresse nor defraude another in any busynes;[8] that the bowels of mercy may appeare amongs suche as God hath called to his knoweledge; and finally, that we altogether that professe the Lord Jesus, and do abhorre idolatrye, abhorre also all kynde of impietie, studying to abound in all good workes, and to shyne as lyghtes in the middest of this wicked generation:[9] which, if we do not, we declare, no dout, that Christ Jesus dwelleth not within us, but that we ar they that heare and knowe the will of our Lord, but do not the same. And unto what curse and malidiction suche persones are subject, the parable of the fegge-tre, which wes threatned to be cut downe if it brought not furth frute; the curse given to it, upon the which Christ Jesus, being hongrie, fand no frute, and his last sentence against the reprobate, do sufficiently witnes.[10] In the which we have to observe, that the reprobate are adjudged to the fyre that never shalbe quenched, not onely because they committed iniquitie, but also because they were not found frutefull in good workes. Let everie man, therefore, that will avoyde plagues temporall and perpetuall, unfeanedlie studie to accomplishe in worke that which in worde and outwarde profession he doeth avowe; and upone suche, no dout, shal the blessing of God rest, when the manifest contempners and cloked hypocrites shal be rased from the face of the earth, and shalbe cast unto uttermoste darkenes, where there shalbe weaping and gnasheing of teith without end, whiche shalbe the rewarde of all their wicked workes.

Mo thinges we wolde have written, suche as the notes upone the disconfiture of Joshua at Hay, and of the Israelites fighting against Benjamin, together with the foolishe opinion of the Papistes, who think themselves oblished to fast fourtie dayes (whiche they call their Lent),

[1] Isay 30.
[2] Gene. 12.
[3] Exod. 2.
[4] 1 Samu. 16.
[5] Luc. 19.
[6] Act. 2.
[7] Ephe. 4.
[8] 1 Thes. 4.
[9] Coloss. 3.
[10] Matth. 21 & 25. Everie tre that bringeth not furth good frute, shalbe cutte down and cast in the fyre.—(Marginal note.)

because that Christ Jesus fasted fourtie dayes immediatlie after his Baptisme: but these we are compelled for this present to pretermit, be reason that the tyme appoynted to this present exercise of Fasting approcheth so nye. If God of his mercy shall please to continew the light of his Evangle amonges us, this argument will be enlarged and set furth with greater circumstances from tyme to tyme.

Now to the Ordour, Exercise, and Abstinence that is to be kept in this publict Fasting: First, it is to be observed, that the two dayes before expressed, to wit, the last Sonday of Februarie instant, and the first Sonday of Marche[1] immediatly thereafter following, ar not appoynted for any religion of tyme,[2] nether yet that those precised dayes shalbe observed everie yeare following; but because that shortly thereafter, are the Estates of this Realme appoynted to convene in Parliament, Therefore the whole Assemblie thoght those dayes for the present necessitie most meit; leaving in the libertie of the Churche what tyme they will appoynt to that exercise in all tymes to cum.

The Sondayes[3] are appoynted not of superstition, nether yet to bring in any schysme within the Church, but because that upone the Sonday the people (especiallie that dwell a landwart) may best attend upone Prayer, and the rest of the Exercises that ought to be joyned with publict Fasting.

The Abstinence is commanded to be from Setterday at eight houres at nyght, till Sonday after the exercise at after noone, that is, after five houres; and then onely bread and drinck to be used, and that with great sobrietie,[4] that the body craving necessary food, the soule may be provoked earnestly to crave of God that which it moste neadeth; that is, mercie for our former unthanckfulnes, and the assistance of his Holy Spirite in tymes to cum.

Men that will observe this exercise, may not any of the two dayes use any kynde of gammes, but exercise themselves after the publict Assemblies in previe meditation with their God.[5]

Gorgious apparrell[6] wolde be absteaned fra during the whole tyme of our humiliation, which is, from the one Sonday in the morning, till the nixt Sonday at nyght; albeit that the straitnes of abstinence is to be kept, but the two dayes onely.

We do not binde the conscience of persones that be unable to beare the extremitie of the Abstinence; and yet do we exhort them to use their libertie (if any they tak) in secret, least that others ather follow their evill

[1] In the edit. 1574, changed to "the second and thrid Sonday of Maij instant."

[2] The reason of the tyme.

[3] The reason of the Sondayes.

[4] The Abstinence.

[5] No gammes may be used upone the dayes of Abstinence.

[6] Gorgious apparel is to be left.

—(Marginal notes.)

exemple, or els judge them to be despysers of so necessarie an exercyse.[1]

The tyme that shalbe spent aswell before none as after, must be left to the wisdome of the discrete Ministers, who best can judge both what the auditore may beare, and what themselves are able to sustene. But because that this exercise is extraordinary, the tyme thereof wolde be somewhat longer then it is used to be in the acustomed Assemblies. And yet we wolde not have it so tedious that it shulde be noysome to the people. And therefore we think that three houres and less, before noune, and two houres at after noune, shalbe sufficient for the whole exercyse publict:[2] The rest to be spent in previe meditation by everie familie aparte.

The Sonday preceading the last Sonday of February, as before is said,[3] shall everie Minister give advertisement to his flocke of such thinges as are to be done the nixt Sonday following, and of the causes of the same, with suche exhortation as God shall put into their mouthes, to make the people to embrase the just commandement of the Churche with more glaide myndes.

In Townes we think expedient that the exercise of the doctrine begine upone the Setterday[4] at after noone, immediatly preceading the first Sonday of Abstinence, that the people may be the better prepared religiously to use the observations of the nixt day: But in Landwart we think good that the doctrine begine the Sonday before. The argument of the Sermon and exhortation to be taken from some proper place of the Prophetes[5]—as of Joel the first, where he sayeth: "Sanctifie a faste, appoynt the assemble,"[6] &c. Or of Jonas the thride, where Jonas cryed, "And yet fourtie dayes, and Ninive shalbe distroyed,"[7] &c. Or of Jeremie the sevint where that he sayeth, "Heare the worde of the Lord, all Juda, and ye that enter in by these gates," &c. Or of the threttene of Lucas, upone the declaration of them that shewe to our Master the crueltie of Pylate, and upone his answer.[8] Or upone any uther proper place within the Scripture that entreteth of repentance, of publict humiliation, of the causes, and of the frutes of the same.

This ended, as it were for preparation, the beginning shalbe upon Sonday, from the Law of God, because that all that offendeth God's Majestie proceadeth from the transgression thereof; and therefore, after a shorte prayer, that God will please to make his Holy word to fructifie amonges us, this Confession shalbe made.

[1] The seicke and weake are not bound to this exercyse.

[2] What houres before none and what after none.

[3] In edit. 1574, "the Sonday preceding the secund Sonday of Maij."

[4] In townes the doctrine shall begine upone the Setterday.

[5] Places proper for the first Sermon of Fasting.—(Marginal notes.)

[6] Joel. 1. [7] Jonas 3.

[8] Luc. 13.

The Confession that shal goe before the Reading of the Law, and before everie Exercyse.

It is of thy mercy, O Lord, and not of our merites, that it hath pleased thee to showe thy self unto the worlde ever from the beginning, and unto us now in this last and moste corrupt age: yea, Lord, we further confesse, that nether Law nor Evangle can profite us to salvation, except that thow, of thy meare grace, worke into us abufe all power that is in this oure nature. For albeit thow teache, we shall remaine ignorant; albeit thow threaten, we shal contempne;[1] and albeit thow promes mercy and grace, yet shall we despaire and remaine in infidelitie;[2] onles that thow creat in us new heartes, write thy Law into the same,[3] and seale in us remission of our sinnes, and that sense and feeling of thy Fatherlie mercy, by the power of thy holie Spirite. To the originall world thou spakest by Noha:[4] To Pharao and his people by thy servand Moyses:[5] To all Israell by the fearefull trumpet of thy Law:[6] To the Cietie of Jerusalem by thy owen Wisdome, our Lord Jesus Christ:[7] And to the multitude, aswel of Jewes as Gentiles, by the preaching of thy holy Apostles.[8] But who gave obedience? Who trembled, and constantlie feared thy hote displeasure? Who did rightly acknowledge the time of their visitation? And who did embrase and kepe to the end thy fatherly promises? Onely they, O Lord, to whome thy Spirite wes the inwarde teacher, whose heartes thow opened,[9] and from whome thow removed rebellion and infidelitie: the rest were externally called, but obeyed not: they heard aswel mercy offered as threatninges pronounsed, but nether with the one nor with the uther were they affectually moved. We acknowledge, O Lord, that the same corruption lurcketh in us, that budded furth in them, to their distruction and just condemnation. And therefore we moste humbly beseak thee, O Father of mercies, for Christ Jesus thy Sones sake, that as thow hast caused the lyght of thy worde clearely to shyne amongs us, and as thow hast plainely instructed us, by the external ministerie, in the ryght way of salvation: So it will please thee inwardly to move our dulle heartes, and by the power of thy Holy Spirite, that thow will write and seale into them that holy fear and reverence which thow cravest of thy chosen childrene, and that faithfull obedience to thy holie will, together with the fealing and sense, that our sinnes are fully purged, and frely remitted, by that only one Sacrifice, whiche onely by it self is acceptable unto thee, to wit, the obedience, death, and mediation of thy onely Sone our soverane Lord,

[1] Heb. 8. [2] Psal. 51. [3] Jere. 31. [4] Exod. 20. [7] Mat. 20. and Joan 12.
[4] Gene. 6. [5] Exod. 2. 3. 4. [8] Acts 3. 4. 14 and 16. [9] Joan. 6.

onely Pastor, Mediator, and Hie Preast, our Lord Jesus Christ. To whome with thee, and with the holy Ghoste, be all honour and glore, worlde without end. [Amen.]

This Confession ended, the Minister or Reader shall distinctlie read the 27. and 28. of Deuteronomie : which ended, the Minister shall wishe everie man to descend secretly into him self, to examine his owen conscience, whereinto he findeth him selfe giltie before God. The Minister himself, with the people, shall prostrate themselves, and remaine in private meditation a reasonable space, as the quarter of an houre, or more. Thereafter shal the Minister exhorte the people to confesse with him their sinnes and offences, as followeth :—

Just and ryghteous art thow, O Lord God, Father everlasting ; holy is thy Law, and moste just are thy judgementes, yea, even when thow doest punishe in greatest severitie ; we do confesse, as the trueth is, that we have transgressed thy whole law, and have offended thy godly Majestie, in breaking and violating everie precept of the same ; and so moste justly may thow poure furth upone us all plagues that are threatned, and that we finde powred furth upon the disobedient at any tyme from the beginning.

And so muche the rather, O Lord, because that so long we have bene called by thy Holie word to unfeaned repentance and newnes of lyfe, and yet have we still remaned in our former rebellion : and therefore, if thow wilt enter in judgement with us, we can nether eschape confusion in this lyfe, nor just condempnation in the lyfe to cum. But Lord, thy mercy is without measure, and the treuth of thy promises abydeth for ever. Unworthy are we that thow shuldest looke upon us : but, Lord, thow hast promised that thow wilt show mercy to the moste grievous offenders, whensoever that they repent. And further, thow, by the mouth of thy deare Sone our Lord Jesus Christ, hast promised that thow wilt give thy Holy Spirite to suche as humblie cal unto thee. In boldnes of the whiche promes, we moste humbly beseak thee, O Father of mercies, that it wold please thy godly Majestie to work in our stubburne heartes an unfeaned dolour for our former offences, with some sense and fealing of thy grace and mercy, together with an earnest desyre of justice and righteousnes, in the which we are bound continually to walk. But because that nether we nor our prayers can stand before thee, be reason of that imperfectione which still remaineth in this oure corrupted nature, we fle to the obedience and perfite justice of Jesus Christ, our onely Mediator, in whome, and by whome, we call not onely for remission of our sinnes, and for assistance of thy Holy Spirite, but also for all things that thy godly wisdome knoweth to be expedient for us, and for thy Church universall. Praying as he hath taught us, saying : OUR FATHER THAT ART, &c.

We may plainely se whereupon this excellent servand of God grounded himself to purches God's favour; to wit, upone the Lord, that is, upone the Saviour and Mediator promised, upone the moste aboundant mercie of God, and upone God himselfe; for he understoode what God had promised, aswell by the mouth of Moyses, as by the Prophet Isais, saying: "Beholde that I am, yea, even I am the Lord, and there is no GOD but I: I kill, and I give lyfe againe: I give the wound, and I shall heale:[1] For my owen Names saike will I do it, sayeth the Eternall." Apone these and the lyke promises, we say, did all the Sainctes of God in all their extremities depend, and did looke to receave comforte, without all respect to their owen workes; they dampned the best of their owen workes, and called them nothing but filthiness before God.[2] And therefore yet, as of before, we boldely affirme, that the Papisticall fasting wes not onlie vaine (for what fasting is it to absteane from flesh, and to fill the bellie with fishe, wyne, spyce, and uther delicates?) but also it wes odious unto God,[3] and blasphemous to the death of Jesus Christ, for the causes forewritten. And this muche shortly for those thinges that must be joyned with frutefull Fasting.

Now we have to consider what thinges may make our Fasting odious, besydes this proude opinion of merite, whereof we have spoken.

It is no dout but that infidelitie[4] maketh all the workes of the reprobate odious before God, yea, even when that they do the verray workes that God hath commanded, as we may read in Matt. 5. 6. and 7., Isai 1. and 66. etc., and divers uther places. But because that infidelitie lurketh oft in the heart, and can not well be espyed but by the bitter and rotten frutes that spring thereof, the Spirite of God hath painted furthe unto us in plaine wordes, what vices may make us and all our workes odious before our God, so that nether will he heare our prayers, nor regarde our fasting. Salomon sayeth, "He that ditteth[5] his eare from the crye of the poore, his prayer shalbe abhominable before God."[6] And Isai, in the persone of God, sayeth: "Albeit that ye shall stretche out your handes, and multiplie your prayers, yet will I not heare yow; for your handes are full of blood."[7] But most plainely to our purpose speaketh the same Prophet, saying: "The hous of Jacob daylie seaketh me, and they wolde knowe my wayes, as a nation that wrought justice, and that had not left the judgement of their God.[8] They ask me judgementes of justice (that is, they querrell with me), and they desyre that God shall drowe neare. Why have we fasted (say they) and thou beholdest not? We have afflicted our soules, and thow misknowest it."

[1] Deut. 32.

[2] Esay. 64.

[3] The Papisticall Fasting vaine and blasphemus.

[4] Infidelitie maketh all the workes of the reprobate odious before God.—(Marginal notes.)

[5] In edit. 1596, "closes;" in edit. 1611, and others, "stoppis."

[6] Pro. 21. [7] Isay 1. [8] Isay 58.

The Prophet answereth in the persone of God, and sayeth, "Beholde in the day of your Faste, ye will seak your will, and require all your dettes: beholde ye faste to strife and debaite, and to smyte with the fist of wickednes: ye shall not Faste as they do to daye, to make your voice be heard above," that is, to oppresse uthers; so that they are compelled to crye unto God. "Is it suche a faste that I have chosen? That a man shuld afflict his soule for a day, and to bow downe his head as a bulrash, and to ly downe in sackcloth and ashes? Wilt thow call this a Fasting, or an acceptable day unto the Lord? Is not this the Fasting that I have chosen, to louse the bandes of wickednes,[1] to take of the heavie burdinges, and to let the oppressed go fre, and that ye break everie yock? Is it not to deale thy bread unto the hongrie; and that thow bring the poore that wandreth unto thy hous? When thow seest the nacked, that thow cover him; and hyde not thy self from thy owen fleshe. Then shall thy light break furth as the morning, and thy health shall growe spedelie, thy righteousnese shall go before thee, and the glorie of the Lord shall embrase thee," etc. In these most notable sentences, and in suche as follow in the same place, we have to marck what thinges may make our Fasting to be rejected of God; what he craveth of suche as faste frutfullie; and what promes he maketh to such as obey him. This people externallie professed God, they daylie sought his face, by reparing to the Temple, hearing of the Law, and exercising of the sacrifices; yet did God plague them in mo sortes then one, as in the Bookis of the Kinges and Cornickles we may read. In their extremitie they ran (as to them appeared) to the uttermoste refuge, they Fasted, and unfeanedly humbled their bodies, for that the Prophet meaneth, when that he sayeth, that they Fasted till that their neckes were weakned, and made faint as a bullrashe, for verray lacke of corporall foode. They layed of their gorgious garmentes, and put on sackcloth, &c.; and yet wer their troubles nothing releved. And that wes the cause why they querreled with God, and said: "Why have we fasted, and thou hast not sene?" &c. And in verray deed, to the natural man it wes strange; for God had promised that he wolde conforte his people whensoever they shuld humble themselves before him, notwithstanding their former iniquitie.[2]

In the externall ceremonies, nor in the corporall exercises, there could no fault be espyed. Why then doeth not God heare them? complaine they? God answereth, that their outwarde profession wes but hypocrisie, their Fasting wes but mocking of God, and their prayers could do nothing but provoke him to further displeasure. Because that albeit they reteaned the Name of God, and albeit that they appeared in his Temple, yet had they forsaken bothe his judgementes,

[1] O that Scotland shuld understand and follow.—(Marginal note.)

[2] Deut. 3; 2 Reg. 8.

of his Evangle, within this Realme, that even as they love the quyetnes of their commonwealth, the continuance of Christ Jesus his holy Evangle within the same, and their owen salvation, together with the salvation of their posteritie, that unfeanedly they prostrate themselves before the Throne of God's Majestie, and in bitternes of heart pray with us:

Aryse, O Lord, and let thyne ennimies be confounded. Let them fle from thy presence that hate thy godly name. Let the grones of thy afflicted enter in before thee; and preserve thow by thy owen power, suche as be appoynted to death. Let not thy ennimies thus triumph to the end: but let them understand that against thee they fight. Preserve the wyne[1] which thy ryght hand hath planted. Oppone thy power to the power of that Romaine Antichrist, and let the glorie of thyne annoynted Jesus Christ our Lord shyne before all nations. So be it. Hasten, Lord, and tary not.[2]

[1] Wyne, vine.

[2] The original edition of 1566, contains the following letter, addressed to the Ministers of Scotland, in reference to their hardships in obtaining payment of their stipends; and also Knox's address "To the Faithful Reader," both of which are omitted in the subsequent editions of "The Order of the General Fast."

This Order continued to be observed in all the Fasts appointed by the General Assembly: the special Causes being sometimes expressed in the proclamation.

THE SUPERINTENDENTES, MINISTERS, AND COMMISSIONERS OF KIRKES, REFORMED WITHIN THE REALME OF SCOTLAND, ASSEMBLED IN EDINBURGH THE 25 DAY OF DECEMBER 1565. TO THE MINISTERS OF JESUS CHRIST, WITHIN THE REALME, DESYRE GRACE AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE PERPETUALL CONFORTE OF THE HOLY SPIRITE.

THE present miserie, and greater troubles appearing shortly to follow, crave, deare Brethrene, that everie one of us exhorte and admonishe another, that we recule not back in the beginning of this battel, which is cum upon us unlooked for of many. And therefore it is that we, your brethrene, partakers with yow of the afflictions of Jesus Christ, understanding the extremitie wherein the whole Ministers within this Realme now stand, for lake of reasonable provision to them selves and poore families, have thought expedient to communicate with yow our myndes by this our letter, which is, that firste we shall deligently marke those wordes of the Apostle, saying, No man shalbe crouned, onles he strive laughfully ;[1] and also that fearefull sentence of our Master Jesus Christ, saying, No man putting his hand to the plough, and looking backe, is apt to the kingdome of God.[2] We have ones professed our selves warriours against Sathan, and laubourers in the husbandrie of the Lord our God, who of his mercy hathe opened oure mouthes to exhorte uthers to contempne this wicked worlde, and to contend to enter into that heavenly Jerusalem. God hath honored us so, that men hath judged us the messingers of the Everlasting. By us hath he disclosed idolatrie, by us are the wicked of the worlde rebuked, and by us hath our God comforted the consciences of many that were oppressed with ignorance and impietie. Considder, then, deare Brethrene, what sclander and offence shall we give to the weak? What occasion of rejoysing shall the ennimies have? And to what ignominie shall we expone the glorious Evangle of Jesus Christ? if that we for any occasion shall desist and cease from publict preaching of the same.

We that admonishe yow are not ignorant, nether yet altogether without experience, how vehement a dart povertie is, and what troublesome cogitations it is able to rase, yea, even in men of greatest constancie. But yet, deare Brethrene, we ought earnestlie to considder with what conditiones we are entered into this moste honorable vocation, and what we chiefly seake in the preaching of the Evangle; for if we lay before

[1] 2 Timot. 2. [2] Luc. 9.

us uther conditions, then Jesus Christ laide before his Apostles, when he send them furth firste to preache the glaide tydinges of his kingdome ;[1] and if we seake and ymagine to our selves better entreatment of this wicked generation, then we find the derrest servands of God have gotten in the worlde, we ether deceave our selves, or els declaire us not to be trew successours of those whose doctrine we propone to the people. They were send furth as sheape, amongs the middest of wolfes ; to them it wes pronounced, that they shuld be hated, they shuld be mocked ; men shulde curse and persecute them for the testimonie of the treuth,[2] which threatnings we find not to have bene vaine, but to have fallen uponè the chiefest members of Jesus Christ, as the Actes of the Apostles beare testimonie.

And think we that the same Evangle which they preached can have ane uther successe in oure Ministerie then it had in theires ? In giftes, we muste confesse oure selves farre inferioure to those lyghtes of the worlde ; in deligence and painefull travell we can not be compared, and yet we look to be partakers of the kingdome which God hath prepared for such as pacientlie abyde the gainecoming of the Lord Jesus. And shall we in nothing communicate with them ? They were some tymes whipped, some tymes stoned, oft cast in preason, and the blood of many sealed up their doctrine.

And shall we for povertie leave the flock of Jesus Christ before that it utterly refuse us ? God forbid, deare Brethrene, for what shall discerne us from the Mercenaries and Hyrelinges, if our constancie in adversitie shal not do it ? The hyrelings, in tyme of quietnes, teache the treuth as we do ; in giftes and utterance they commonlie excead us in lyfe and conversation ; they may for a season be irreprehensible. What is it then that maketh them hyrelings ?

Our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ answereth, saying, "The mercenarie seeth the wolfe comming, and fleeth, because he is a mercenarie."[3] Then the leaving of the flock, when wolfes come to invade it, proveth suche as were holden pastours to be nothing but hyrelings, we deny not ; but if one Cietie we be persecuted, we may laughfully flee unto another, yea, if one Realme cast us furth, we may receave the benefite of another. But ever still with this condition, that we cast not from us the profession that publictly we have made, nether yet that we cease to fead the flock of Jesus Christ, and to gainestand the teachers of fals doctrine, so farre furth as in us lyeth. But hereinto standeth the question, Whether may we, whome God hath called to this honour, that he hath made us ambassadoures of his good will unto this unthankfull generation, desist frome our vocations ? Because that we can not be provided of reasonable livinges, as God hath commanded, and our travelles deserve.

[1] Math. 10. [2] Joan. 16. [3] Joan. 10.

The Spirite of God uniformlie through the Scriptures wil answer us. That Helias wes send to be fed by the ravens.[1] Elizeus and his scollers were compelled to gather herbes to make pottage.[2] Paule did oft live by the worke of his owen handes, but we never finde that they receaved dimission from their vocations. Seing then dear brethrene that God as yet hathe tempted none of us with the extremetie that we finde uthers before us, have suffered and overcome, let us be ashamed so suddenly to faint, even in the brunt of the battell. The price of Christ Jesus, his death and passion is committed to our charge, the eyes of men are bent upon us, and we must answer before that Judge, who will not admit everie excuse that pleaseth us, but will judge upryghtly, as in his worde he hath before pronounced. Let us therefore stand fast, not onely in the treuth, but also in the defence and advancing of the same, which we cannot do, if we cease from our publict vocations. Let us, deare Brethren, stand fast in the same, and commit our bodies to the care of him who feadeth the foules of the aire, and hath promysed that he knoweth whereof we have nead.[3] He preserved us in the darknes of our mother's bosome, he provyded our foode in their breastes, and instructed us to use the same, when we knew him not, he hath nourished us in the tyme of blyndnes and of impietie, and will he now despyse us, when we call upone him, and preache the glorious Gospell of his deare Sone our Lord Jesus? Nay, deare Brethrene, he nether will nor can, unles that infidelitie cut us of from his mercyfull providence. Let us considder that the whole earth is the Lordes, and all the fulnes of the same, that he is able to move the heartes of men as best pleaseth him. He is able to blisse and multiplie thinges that are nothing in the eyes of carnall men.[4] It is but povertie that as yet doeth threaten us, which, if we be not able to comtempne, how shall we abyde the furie and terroure of death? Which many thousands before us have suffered for the testimonie of the same treuth, which we professe and teache, and dispysed all worldly redemption, as the Apostle speaketh.[5] This is but a gentill tryall which our Father taketh of our obedience, which if we willingly offer unto him, the bowels of his Fatherly compassion will rather cause the heavens, yea, the rockes and rivers to minister unto us thinges necessarie to the bodie, then that he shall suffer us to perishe, if we dedicate our whole lives unto him. Let us be frequent in reading (which allace, over many dispise), earnest in prayer, deligent in watcheing over the flock committed to our charge, and let our sobrietie and temperate lyfe eshame the wicked, and be exemple to the godly; and then there is no dout but the Eternall our God shall remeady this extremitie, he shall confound our ennimies, and shall shortly convert our teares and murning in joy and

[1] 1. Reg. 17. [2] 2. Reg. 4. [3] Math. 6.
[4] 2. Reg. 4; Joan. 6; Math. 14. [5] Heb. 11.

myrth, to the glorie of his owen Name, and to the conforte of the posteritie to cum. Through the merites and intercession of Jesus Christ oure Lord, whose Holy Spirite conforte yow and us to the end.

Of Edinburgh, in our General Assemblie, the last Session thereof. Anno. 1565.

To the Faithfull Reader.

Albeit that nether suche as did firste command, nether yet those that have travelled to set furthe this ordour of publict Fasting, and admonitions to the Ministers, have impyre above the bodies of suche as unto whome they wryte: yet have they no dout power from God to rebuke sinne, and to crave repentance, especially of suche as God hath called to his knowledge, in the middest of this moste obstinate and corrupt generation. And therefore, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, we requyre all men to ponder and wey, what is the estate of this Realme at this present, and if they se not clearely just causes why that God shoulde punishe in his hote displeasure them, we can be content that men live at their owen quyetnes. But if that justice be universally oppressed and iniquitie so menteaned, that it overfloweth this whole Realme, then dare we be bolde to cry with the Prophet Ezechiell,[1] that suche as murne not for the abhominations that now habound, shall perishe in the iniquitie of this most stubburne generation. Whill that suche as semplie obey God, speaking by his moste dispysed Ministers, shall avoyde vengeance bothe temporall and eternall, we dout not but suche as think themselves more wise then they declaire themselves godly, shal ask wherefore shall we be subject to the ordinances of men? Have we not the Spirite of God to teache us in all thinges? We answer, that if we as men command any thing, let it not be obeyed; but if we in this age command the same things which God in the ages before us hath commanded by his servands, let them beware, least that in dispysing of us they dispyse not also the Eternall God, whose holie worde is to us assurance of everie precept that we have given. And further, we feare not to say that suche as murne not with Jacob in his affliction, shal not rejoyse with him in the day of his deliverance, but they shalbe compelled to murne and quaike with Pharo without end.

Many thinges we have omitted to further oportunitie and better occasion. God grant that things simplie spoken and uprightly ment, may be interpret according to the reule of charitie, and obedientlie followed as God requyreth.

Johne Knoxe, at the command of the publict Assemblie.

Math. 24.—Watche and pray, for the dayes are evill, and the ryghteous Judge is in readynes to cum.[2] Hasten, Lord, and tary not.

[1] Ezech. 9. [2] Heb. 10.

[From THE ORDOURE AND DOCTRINE OF THE GENERALL FAST, &c. Imprinted at Edinburgh be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno 1574. See page 392.]

Certaine Chapters and Partes of the Scriptures used be the Ministers of Edinburgh and Halyrudhous, in the tyme of God's visitation by the Pest; in the tyme when in the Court rang all impietie, as murther, huredome, in contempt of God's word, bot especially in the tyme when the Quene wes strikken be God's hand in Jedburgh: Also in the tyme of famine and derth, and uther suche tymes as God gave occasion, and according to the maner of the scurge.

In tyme of Pest.

The 21. of Numeri, the 34. of the secund buke of Samuel, 3. chap. of Ezechiel, the 91. Psalme, with uther suche places proper for the same.

In the tyme when Impietie abounded.

Ezechiell the 3.	Esayas the 3.
The 1. of Zephaniach.	Jeremias the 34.
Numeri the 16.	Oseas the 4.
Numeri the 25.	Amos the 6.
Josua the 7.	Obadiach.
1. of Samuel the 4. & 7.	Micheas the 2.
1. of Samuel the 15.	Zacharie the 5.
1. of the Kinges the 13.	Esra the 4.
2. of the Chron. the 26.	Nehemiach. 9.

In tyme of Famine.

Esayas the 58.	1. of Kinges the 17. & 18.
Haggeus the 1.	2. of Kinges the 4.
Amos the 4.	2. of Kinges 6. 7. & 8.
Amos the 8.	Zachary the 7.

And uthers such lyke partes of the Scriptures, according as the correction wes laide of God: For even as the Lord our God hes divers and sindrie wandes wherewith he scurgeth the world; bot mercyfullie correcteth his owen children for their profite, so hes he left divers examples in holy Scripture, how his chosen hes used themselves under everie sorte of correction, by him Fatherly laide upon them, as in the chapters before expressed, wes first noted, to steare man to prevent God's Judgements be trew and unfeaned repentance before the plague came.

So these chapters now noted, wes chosen be the Ministers of Edinburgh and Halyrudhous, and uthers godly their about, at such tymes

as God did visite them, as is abone expressed. To testifie alswa, tl
the Kirk of God, nor the faithfull and discreite Ministers, are not bou
at everie Humiliation to stick scrupulously to the former, as no utl
may be chosen, bot as God changeth his wandes, so may our praye
with the examples of the Sanctes so afflicted, be changed and ordour
Nether can the wicked justly accuse us, in so doing, of inconstanc
Bot rather ought the chosen to glorifie God, that our publict Fasti
and Humiliation is not bound to mannes commandement precyselie, 1
to olde customes, as the Papistes use their ceremonies; but as G
vesies us, so in that maner seak we him as he teacheth us and give
us examples in his moste holy Word, according to his Fatherly c
rection.

Three Causes of this Publict Fast.

As in these dayes we call unto him for mercy for our unthankf
nes, being so oft and divers tymes delyvered, and yet his benefites
suddeanlie forget; in that that we se sinne so to abound in all estat
God's fearefull threateninges not feared, bot the pronouncers ther
mocked and disdaned be the most part of the world.

Secundly, the great hounger, famine, and oppression of the pu
although the riche and wealthy that keapes their corne whill the wy
beastes eat it, feil not the famine, whose plague suddenly followes,
hastely they prevent not God's judgements by unfeaned repentance.

Thridly, and cheifly, we humble our selves, and call upon our G
for the confort and delyverance of oure afflicted brethren in Fran
Flanders, and uther partes: For althought the plague and cruel Decr
of Trent is begune at Susan, or rather into fylthie Sodome in Pare
that boucher-hous of Sathan, be those manesworne and cruell murthere
yet their mynde is no les cruelly bent towardes us: For if they had r
pietie to drink their owen bloodes, and to se the samin ryn in t
streites with Manasses, mekle less will they be moved with compassi
when they shal onely heir crueltie used against strangers, except G
drowne Pharao, chase and slay Sennaherib, confound and beate do
with shame Herod, which muste be through the prayers of the sanc
of God, humbled under his mightie hand.

Those, and uther manyfolde Causes, as sinne unpunished in ma
places, the craftynes of the worldelings, with the appearant deceitfuln
of fals brethren, moveth us this day to stoup under his mighty har
which, we cal unto him for his owen Names sake, we may do withc
hypocrisie; then not douting bot that the fruite and profite ther
shalbe found and sene, as at divers tymes we have felt, to his ow
glorie, and comfort of his Kirk; to whome be praise, glorie, and hono
for ever. [Amen.]

THE FAYTHFULL BRETHERN WITHIN THE REALM OF SCOTLAND UNDERWRITTIN, TO THE FAYTHFULL PROFESSOURIS OF THE LORD JESUS IN ENGLOND, FRANCE, GERMANYE, OR ELLIS WHARE, DESYRED GRACE AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER, AND FROM HIS SONE OUR LORDE JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE PERPETUALL CONFORT OF THE HOLY SPREIT.

ALBEIT, Deare Brethern, that vertu and trew feare of God planted in the hartis of his chosin, will manifest and schew the selfe, whairsoevir it shall please his Fatherlie providence to conduct and cary his servandis and childern, that of men they nead no maner of testimonie. Yit, becaus that Sathan can transfigure himself into aue angell of lycht, and mak his suppostis appeare as manteanaris of Goddis glory, and pillars of his veritie, and also, that many tymes the innocencie of Joseph is suppressed by prejudiciall accusatioun of the wicked worldlings. We have thought expedient to signifie unto you all faythfull, to whose knawledge these our presentis shall cum, that these, our tuo derrest brethern, Maister Robert Hamyltoun, minister and preacheour of the evangell of Jesus Christ,[1] and Robert Campbell of Kyngincleuch,[2] hath so behaved thamselfes in thare vocations with ws, within this Realme and our native cuntre of Scotland, that justlie the veray wicked amangs ws can lay no cryme to thare charge. For the one haith so puirlye taught the word of salvatioun, and the other haith so uprightlie ministred justice in all civill actions subject to his charge, that the godlie with ws can not but lament the absence of such tuo notable instrumentis who were lyghtis in the Church of Jesus Christ, confortable to the afflicted, and fearfull to the wicked doaris in the partis whare they travaled.

Yf then you ask, Why ar they dejected from ws? We ansuer, Becaus that now, to the greif of many, iniquitie commandis, tyrannie ringis, and the cause of the ryghteous is uttirlie suppressed amang ws. For, albeit of Goddis greate mercye, we have yit the evangell of Jesus Christ oppinlie preached, yit dar not the principaill men that have travaled for the advancement of Goddis glorie in these last troubles

[1] Hamilton was appointed minister of St. Andrews in 1566, in the room of Christopher Goodman, who had returned to England before the close of the previous year. In 1574 he became Provost of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and died in April 1581.—(Wodrow Miscellany, p. 283.)

[2] Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, Ayrshire, was an intimate friend of Knox, and a zealous Reformer.—(See some notices in the Wodrow Miscellany, pages 281-284.)

(other then thei that have determinate to offer thare bodies a sacrifice for witnessing of his treuth), appeare before the magistrats, that now for our humiliatioun are placed above ws. For causes of treasoun ar laid to the charge of innocent men, thare substances ar spoiled, and thare lives ar sought, becaus thei have travaled for mantenance of verta and suppressing of ydolatrie, of which nomber, these our brethern (according to thare abilitie) haith bene tuo cheif men. Receave tham, thairfoir, we beseik you, as the servandis of God, and as our derrest brethern. In doing whairof, as you shall please God, so shall you bynd ws to the lik vicissitude upon the lik assurance. We unfynedlie crave the assistance of your prayers, that God, for Christ Jesus his Sonis saike, will, of his mercy, manteane his owin wark, that potentlie he hes begun amangis ws. This, in the end, we culd not omitt, that you shall not credeth every Testificatioun, as send from ws. That which we approve will be signed, as this is. The Lord Jesus, by his Holye Spreit, confort you and ws to the end, and trode Sathan suddanelie under our feitt. So be it.

From Edinburgh the xxvj. of December 1565.—Your loving brethern in Christ Jesus,

JOHON ERSKYN, of Angus and Mernis, Superintendent.

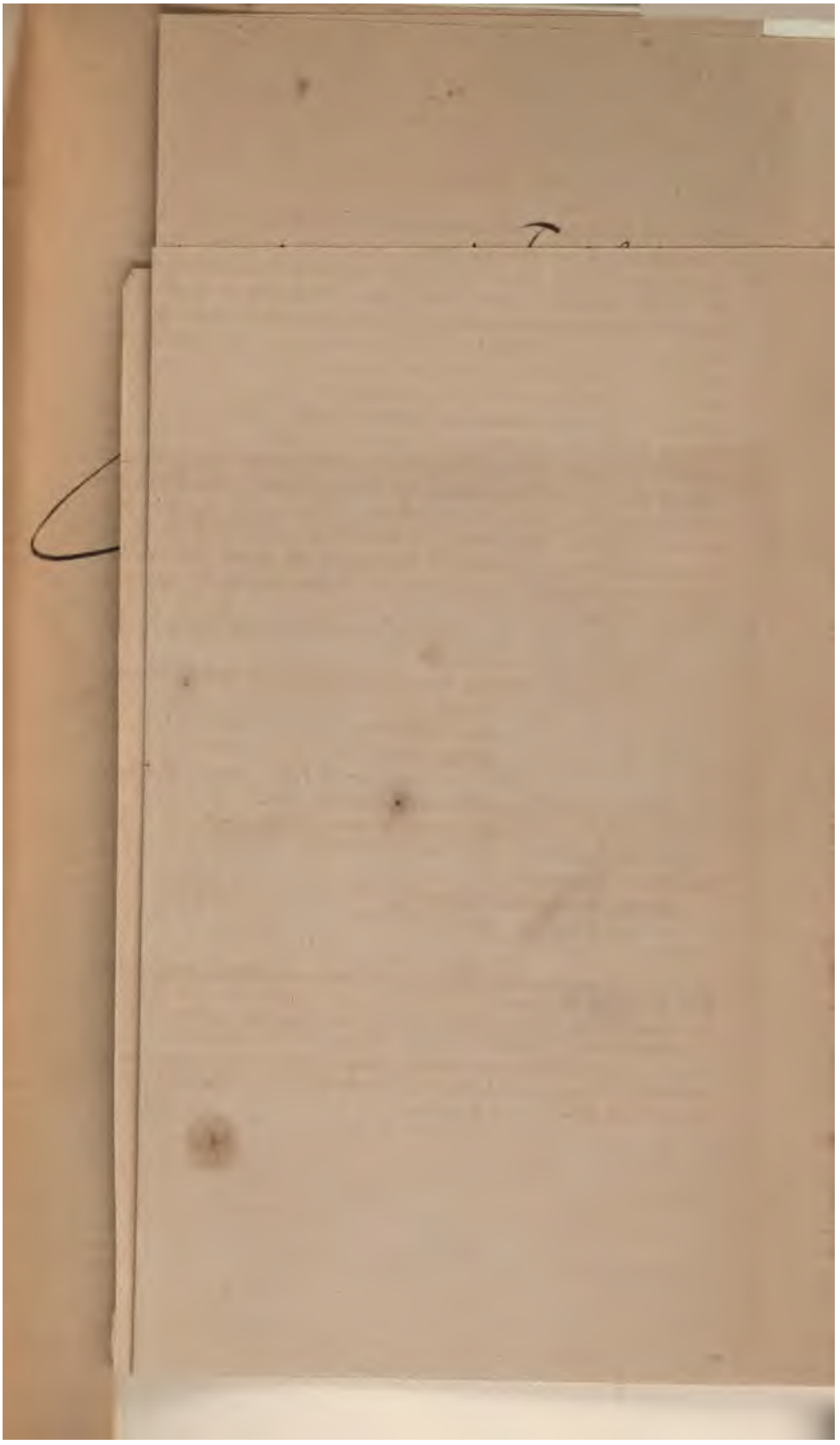
JOHNE SPOTTISWOD, Superintendent of Lotheane and the Mars.

M. JHON WYNRAM, of Fyffe, Strathern, Fodrik and Gowrie, Superintendent.

JOHN KNOX, Minister of Edinburgh.

THE KIRKIS TESTIMONIALL
TO MR. ROBERT HAMMYLTOUN,
AND ROBERT CAMPBELL.[1]

[1] The above letter was printed, probably for the first time, in the Wodrow Miscellany, p. 285, with a facsimile of part of the original. It is preserved in a volume of the Wodrow Manuscripts in the Advocates Library (folio 4. No. 92). This facsimile is here repeated, partly for the purpose of comparison with the similar facsimile in vol. i. page xxx, of the original Manuscript of Knox's History of the Reformation, both of them evidently being written by the Clerk of the General Assembly.



THE SUPERINTENDENTS, MINISTERS, AND COMMISSIONERS OF THE CHURCHES REFORMED WITHIN THIS REALME OF SCOTLANDE ASSEMBLED IN EDENBROUGH, THE XXV. DAYE OF DECEMBER 1565, TO ALL FAITHFULL WITHIN THE SAME REALME, DESIRE GRACE AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER, AND FROM OUR LORDE JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE PERPETUAL CONFORT OF THE HOLYE GHOST.

THE sorowfull complayntes of all Ministers in generall, and of some nowe more to be lamented in others in particuler, being considered in this oure last Assembly (beloved in the Lord Jesus) divers men were of divers judgementes, howe the griefe and povertie of such as faithfully travayle in their vocation within the Church of God might somewhat be relieved. After long reasoning it was concluded, that a supplication shuld be direct to the Quenes Majestie, requiring that respecte might be had to the extreme necessity of our Ministers.[1] But bicause that the necessity of our brethren is great, and their povertie present, and that the remedie can not be sodaine nor yet certaine, it was thought expedient that a generall admonition should be made to all the faithful, to have respect to the necessitie of the Ministers universally. But especially, that the faithfull in every parish have consideration to the necessitie of suche as travaile amongst them in true doctrine and holsome exhortation, which admonition, whosoever dispiseth, dispiseth no doubt the chiefe dutie of a Christian.[2] For alas, with what conscience can we eate oure owne bread, and know the bowels of such as offers to us the breade of lyfe, and minister to us spirituall things, to crave of God and us but a reasonable sustentation, and yet can not finde suche favour at oure handes, as Turkes finde amongest Turkes, and Jewes amongest that blinded nation.

Alas, where are the bowels of mercy that sometyme were founde amongst the faithfull? How farre is this our filthye avariounesse distant from that liberalitie which appeared in the primitive Church, when that the faithfull cast their substance at the feete of the Apostles?[3] Where is that charitie which moved the Churches of Macedonia and Achaia[4] and other cuntries to make most liberall collectours, and to send the same to relieve the indigence of the pore at Jerusalem and in Judea. Where is the zeale that was in the Galathians and Philippians,[5]

[1] The answere is, the Quene can spare nothing.

[2] This is the commaundement of the Spirit of God. Hebr. 13.

[3] Act. 2; Rom. 15.

[4] 2 Coriut. 9.

[5] Galat. 4; Phil. 4.

of whome the one would have given their eyes to the Apostle Paule, if that might have supported him, the other spared not to sende to their preacher, being prisoner in Rome, their supporte and comfort most liberally. If we thinke to be partakers with suche men in glorye, why studye we not to followe their vertues? If this be the same Evangel of salvation, as no doubt it is, that the Apostles preached, that now of Gods great mercy is preached to us, alas, why brings it not forth some part of the former fruites,[1] if we thinke they are but men and not Apostles that nowe preach unto us, let us consider that the Apostles were men, and receyved of men support and comforte, and also that others than the Apostles were grounded for by the liberalitie of the faithfull, as in the Actes of the Apostles maye be seene.[2]

We have not Paule to write unto us newe Epistles, neyther yet Mathewe, Marke, Lucas, or John, to dite unto us a newe Evangell, bicause things written are sufficient if we understande and followe the same: but of Gods great mercy we have men that open and explane unto us not onely writings of the New, but also of the Old Testament. We have the servaunts of God indued with rare and notable graces, whom if we contempne, it is to be feared that God shall so punish our ingratitude, that he shal take from us the light of his worde, and the true messengers of the same, and suffer darkenesse agayne to apprehende us, and the slaves of Sathan tirannously to impire above us, and then woe to us and our posteritie.[3] For better it had beene that the word of lyfe had never bene shewen unto us, than that we in our default shoulde suffer our selves to be defrauded of so great a benefite. Let us therfore begin to reverence the blessed Evangell of our salvation. Reverence nor magnifie it wee can not, when that we suffer the true preachers therof to be oppressed with povertie before our eyes, and yet we shut up the bowels of mercy from them.[4]

Let us consider, deare brethren, how carefully God commaundeth in his law that the Levites,[5] and such as served that material tabernacle, should be provided of sufficient livings, yea, let us consider with what plagues God punished Israell and Juda when his statutes and his servaunts were dispised.[6] Shal we think that the eternall God will spare us, if we be found contemners of such as truely preache the Lorde Jesus, or lawfully beare any charge within his Church? we maye be assured that he will not. For as the bodye is more excellent than is the shadow, and as the veritie is to be preferred to the signe, so are the Ministers of the New Testament, and their spirituall service, to be preferred tu the Levites, and their carnall ceremonies, the contempt whereof can not but crave at Gods handes moste severe punishment, bicause

[1] Let everie man descend within him selfe. [2] Act. 6. [3] Let Scotland advert. [4] Who are they that reverence not the evangelist of Jesus Christ. [5] Exod. 22. [6] Levit. 27; Nu. 28; Deut. 12.

(as sayde is) the office of the one doth farre excell the office of the other. They did but reade the law, kill the sacrifice, sley the beastes, take of the skinnes, wash the flesh, and offer the same as was commaunded in the law, and for such service were the tenthes first fruites, and other dueties appointed for their sustentation: but the Ministers of Jesus Christ have an office without al comparison more excellent, for they bring to us the glad tidinges of salvation, by the two edged sworde of Goddes worde, which is mighty in operation, they sley that old man that never fightes against God, they make his thought patent to his owne confusion, that the newe man of God maye take lyfe.[1] They wash the soules with the bloude of Jesus Christe which aboundantly drops from their lips, when truely they preache the vertue and effect of the death of Jesus Christ, and rightly minister his sacramentes lefte to be used in his Church, to holde us in recent memorie of that so great a benefite.[2]

Finallye by them are we taught and conducted, to offer not onely prayers and thanks giving: but also our bodies and soules in a reasonable and lively sacrifice unto God by Jesus Christ. And yet (O cruell ingratitude) shal we care no more for their sustentation, than that we were nothing addicted unto them, neyther yet that God had raised them uppe after over long blindnesse, to reduce us againe to the right way of salvation, and to conduct us in the same to the end.

If we thinke that al these things may be due without ministers or without preaching, we utterly deceyve our selves. For the same order that God hath observed since that he hath collected his visible Church, he will shall be observed so long as it continueth upon the face of the earth, that is, that even as under the lawe the people were commaunded to require wisdome from the mouthes of the priestes, and Levits[3] had a charge to teach and so tourne many from their iniquitie: so in this most acceptable time, did Jesus Christ ascending to the heavens, distribute his glory in divers sortes:[4] for some he made Apostles, some Prophetes, some Evaungelistes, that is, preachers of glad tidings, some pastours, some teachers, to the end that we might all come to the unitie of the faith, and to the knowledge of the Sonne of God.[5]

Now if we think that none within Scotlande lackes true faith, yea if we thinke that our children can attayne to the right knowledge of God, without true doctrine, then maye we dreame with our selves,[6] that ministers are not necessarie, and so are we nothing addicted unto them. But if that faith commeth by hearing, and that by the hearing of Gods worde,[7] and that Gods word is not sent unto us absolutely from heaven by Aungels, but is planted by the Holy Spirite in the heartes and mouthes of men whome God of his mercye sendes forth into the

[1] Hebr. 4; Rom. 8.
[2] As Christ was crucified amongest the Galathians. Gala. 3; Rom. 12.
[3] Deut. 17.
[4] Math. 2.
[5] 1 Cor. 12; Eph. 4.
[6] Let yet Scotland advert.
[7] Rom. 10.

world, to sowe therin the seede of his Evangell, we can not but confesse our selves detters to our Ministers. The dispisers of whome, yea all suche as to their power supporte them not in their necessities, are before his throne judged contempners of his owne majestie. And therfore yet once againe, let every faithfull consider what is his duetie, and let us abhor that ingratitude that we shuld suffer the servants of the Lorde Jesus to begge, or travaile in poverty before our eyes, for if we doe, we banishe from us Jesus Christ and the light of his Evangell. The Apostle commaundeth a bishop, and every true preacher of Jesus Christ is a Christian bishop among the rest of his vertues to be one that keepeth hospitalitie, and is able to receyve straungers. This can he not doe without reasonable provision, and by whome the bishop shoulde be provided, S. Paule aunswereth in these wordes:—Let him that is taught communicate in al his goods, with him that teacheth him, and againe, is it anye great thing, that while we sowe unto you spirituall things, that we should reape of you carnall things?[1] of which and many moe places it is evident, that the flock is bounden to provide for their pastor.

It will not excuse us, deare Brethren, to cry and complaine, we are compelled to answere our bishops, persons, and vicars. Our teachers are taken up most rigorously, how shal we then be able to susteyne oure ministers. These complaintes and appearing reasons, deare Brethren, will vanish with winde, when we shal come to the straight examination of consciences before God. For are we not commaunded to honor God with our substance?[2] and thinke we that we doe honor him when with our substance we fil the bellies of dumb dogges, yea of God's conjured enimies, and suffer his servauntes to fall into povertie, before our eyes, if ye thinke we shall be excused bicause that the order of lawe constrayneth us thereunto, the godly feare in case this reason shall be admitted before God, lest tirannie under collour of lawe, wil take from us our tithes, and so can we not sustayne our ministers. This reason, Brethren, will be weake, yea, so weake, that we feare it shal be repelled before the incorrupt judge. For howe manye of us have complayned upon that tiraunt? Who hath made intercession to the Majestrats for redresse of that enormity. Yea, alas, howe many of us are not maintayners of those theves, and partakers of their murders, called Bishops, Abbottes, and Pryors. Let no man wonder that we terme such men with so odious termes, no, let them rather wonder, that God poureth not forth the uttermost of his vengeaunce upon the realme, and us that maintaine such tirants in their tirannie, in this great light of his Evangell. Theves they are, for they take large fee and serves not; murtherers they are, bicause that by withholding the bread of lyfe, they cause the soules of men to dye for hunger of God's worde. And yet how conspire we with them, what doe we to maintayne that abuse:

[1] Gala. 6. [2] Pro. 3.

of those theves, we have tacks[1] by them, we have interest and title to tithes, and for love of the spoile, we mainetaine their murthers in oppression of the pore. Let us not be deceyved, deare Brethren. There is no lawe made by man, that can make these lawful, neyther yet the substance of one to be the just possession of an other, without a just title.[2]

The tenthes were once appointed by God to the Levites, to the pore, to the widow, fatherlesse, and straungers, and the lawes of Emperours, Kings, and Princes, did after Christ, appoint the same to the like use, to wit, to the sustentation of such as travaile in the Church, for the reliefe of the pore, and for maintenaunce of learning. Nowe, say we, to transfer the tythes from these uses, the persons before named not being provided for, is both to commit theft and sacriledge, yea, the spoile of the pore is in the houses of so manye, as unjustlye possesse them, and who they are ye have before heard, neyther shall they in the ende escape that sentence of the Prophete,—The malediction of the Lorde is upon the house of the thefe.[3] But yet, Brethren, let us suppose that in no sorte we did consent with those oppressions, but that we opponed our selves unto them to the uttermoste of our powers, and yet we were oppressed in our just cause by the tirannie of unjust lawes? should we yet be excused before God if we communicate not with the necessitie of the ministers of Jesus Christ? Let us be moste assured that we can not, for that sentence of our Lorde and Judge standes ever in force,—"Worthy is the laborer of his wages."[4] And againe, "You shall not mussell the mouth of the Oxe that treadeth forth the corne." The execution of these precepts He wil alway require of you, howsoever we flatter oure selves in our owne imaginations, neyther doth extremitie of lawes, nor corruption of tymes excuse us before God, of the deutie he requires of us. Which thing did Abdias, servaunt to Achab, and Jesabell, rightly consider, for when by them (but Jesabell, chieflye) the Prophets of the Lord were destroied, he hid in caves an hundreth Prophets of the Lorde,[5] and fed them with bread and water, that is, liberallye, and sufficientlye, for then was water more scant in Israel than ale or wyne is (as yet) amongest us. Did a man feede an hundered servauntes of the Lorde, and in that tyme when things were most scant, and yet both the King and the Queene sought the subversion of true religion, and the destruction of all God's true servants, and shal not a thousand of us and moe that have professed the Lord Jesus with in this Realme, upon our charges, sustaine two or three hundereth of such as have travailed, and yet travaile to advance the kingdome of Jesus Christ amongst us? If we doe not, fearefull shall the sentence be, that shall be pronounced against us, by him, whose voyce we shall not then be able to gainstand, when from his throne he shall say,—

[1] Tacks, leases. [2] Howsoever the worlde mocke this, God shall aprove it.
[3] Zacha. 50. [4] 1 Corin. 9. [5] 1 Reg. 25.

"Depart from me ye workers of iniquitie, for I was hungry and ye fed me not, thirstie ye gave me no drinke, naked ye clothed me not, I lacked harbrowe, and ye receyved me not into your house."[1]

Playne it is that Christ Jesus in his owne person neyther suffers hunger nor thrist, he needes neyther clothes nor house, but as him selfe in the same place saith, "Whatsoever ye did not to the lest one of these, that ye did not to me." Let us, deare Brethren, ponder these wordes, and let us nowe beginne to shew the fruites of repentance, and unfaynedly to magnifie the worde of our salvation. Let the bowels of our mercye be opened to oure brethren. Let never the pestilente Papists have cause to rejoyce over us, that they shall hereafter saye, that our own nigardenes banished Jesus Christ from us. Which thing if without hipocrisie and of good courage we begin to doe, then no doubt but God shall blesse the labors of our hande, he shall restore to us our former courage, and strike the hartes of our enimies with the same feare that they have felt before.

It is we, deare Brethren, it is wee that hath exponed the glorious Evangell of Jesus Christ to this daunger within this realme, for while that the moste parte of us studied for the building of our own house, the house of the Lord was neglected and dispised. And in the meane time hath the enimie so prevayled, that we and it stand in equall daunger, save that the spirituall house of God can never utterly be suppressed.[2] But we may fal, both temporally and eternally, if we dispise the sermon of exhortation, which calles us agayne to our first profession. If we heare and obey his voice, there is mercy, power, and good will in our God. Mercy, to pardon our former negligence, power to represse the pride of our enimies, and good will to maintaine the cause of his truth, that once of his mercy he hath made to prosper in our handes. O Lorde, for thine owne name sake, move our heartes to consider our dueties. Preserve the flock to whome thou of thy mercy hast reveled thy selfe. Purge this Realme of damnable Idolatry, and continewe to our posteritie the light of thy Worde in the same puritie that thou hast offered it unto us.

Take our rude Exhortation in good part, deare Brethren, and be bolde upon us in all thinges not repugning to God. The grace of our Lord Jesus rest with you and us now and ever. At Edinburgh, in our Generall Assembly, the laste Session thereof, the 28. of December 1565.

JOHN KNOXE, at the commaundement
of the Brethren before mencioned.

[1] Math. 25.

[2] God grant that this may yet be understande, for oft before it was heard and mocked of manye.—(Marg. note.)

THE SUPERINTENDENTS, MINISTERS, AND COMMISSIONERS OF KIRKS WITHIN THE REALME OF SCOTLAND PRESENTLIE ASSEMBLIT, TO ALL AND SUNDRIE FAITHFUL BRETHREN TO WHOSE KNOWLEDGE THIR PRESENTS SALL COME, WISCHETH GRACE, MERCIE, AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER, AND FROM OUR LORD JESUS CHRYST.

Witt your Universities, that our loving brother JOHNE KNOX,[1] bearer of thir presents, hes bein and is ane true and faithful minister of the Evangell of Jesus Chryst within this realme of Scotland, continually within thir viii yeirs bygane or therabout; in doctrine pure, and sincere in lyfe and conversation, in our sights inculpable, and hes so fruitfully usit that talent grantit to him be the Eternal, to the advancement of the glorie of his godlie name, to the propagation of the kingdom of Jesus Chryst, and edifieing of them who heard his preaching, that of duetie we most heartlie praise his godlie Majestie, for that so great ane benefite grantit unto him for our utilitie and profite. And because he, for the naturall love and affectioun he beares to his Childrein,[2] now being within the realme of Ingland, and favour to uthers his brethren, requested us to grant him licence for ane season, to repaire toward the said realme of Ingland, for the causes above mentionat, We, after mutual conference in full Assemblie, thoght this petitioun just and reasonable, and therfor all in ane voyce grants licence to our said Brother, according to the Queens Majesties conduct, to passe to the said realme, for the purposes foirspoken and uthers his lawfull affaires, what time he sall think most commodious for his journey; provydeing allwayes that he returne to this realme of Scotland before the 25 of the moneth of Junii nixt insewing, to continue in his former vocatioun, and na utherwayes. And this we make knowin to all and sundrie to whom it effeirs, be thir our Letters Testimonialls, givin at Edinburgh in our Generall Assemblie, and third Session therof, subscryvit be the Clerk of the same, the 27. of December [1566].

[1] "Anent Mr. Knox's requeist to passe to the realme of Ingland to visite his children, and to doe his other business, the haill Assemblie grantit gladly licence, with letters testimonialls of his honest conversatioun and godlie doctrine within this Realme, with provision as is conteinit in the saids letters; the tenour," etc. (as above).—Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. p. 84.

[2] Knox's two sons, by his first wife, Marjory Bowes, were in England for their education.

THE SUPERINTENDENTS, MINISTERS, AND COMISSIONERS OF KIRKS WITHIN THE REALME OF SCOTLAND,[1] TO THERE BRETHREN THE BISCHOPS AND PASTOURS OF INGLAND,[2] WHO HES RENUNCED THE ROMANE ANTICHRYST, AND DOES PROFESSE WITH THEM THE LORD JESUS IN SINCERITIE, DESYRES THE PERPETUALL INCREASE OF THE HOLIE SPIRIT.

By word and write it is come to our knowledge, REVEREND PASTORS, that diverse of our deirest brethren, among whom are some of the best learnit within that realme, are depryvit fra Ecclesiastical functioun, and forbidden to preach, and so by you are stayed to promote the kingdome of Chryst, because ther conscience will not suffer them to take upon them, at the comandment of the Authoritie, sick garments as idolaters in the tyme of blindnes have usit in the tyme of [3]idolatrie; whilk brute cannot be but most dolorous to our hearts, myndfull of that sentence of the Apostle, saying, "If ye byte and devore ane another, take good heid least ye be consumit ane of another."

We purpose not at this present to enter upon the ground whilk we heare of either partie to be aggriet[4] with greater vehemence[5] then well lykes us; to witt, Whither sick apparrell be to be countit amongs things that is simple and[6] indifferent, or not. Bot in the bowells of Chryst Jesus we crave, that christian charitie may so farre prevail in you, in you we say the Pastors and Leaders of the flocke in that

[1] "The Ministers and Elders of the Churches within the Realme of Scotland," p. 125, edit. 1593.

[2] The General Assembly "attour ordainit ane letter to be directit to the Bischops of Ingland, that they wald be content gentlie to handle the brethren preachers, touching the habits surpcloathes and uthers abulyements, whilk appeirantlie tends more to superstition nor to edificatioun; and requeists Master Knox to put the heads in write whilk he thinks necessar to be wryten to the saids Bischops. The tenour whereof followes."

Booke of the Kirk, vol. i. p. 85.

This Letter, which occurs with variations in vol. ii. p. 545, is included in a volume of Puritanical Tracts, printed anonymously, without place or date; but at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave, in the year 1593, under this title:—"A parte of a register, contayninge sundrie memorable matters, written by divers godly and learned in our time, which stande for, and desire the reformation of our Church, in Discipline and Ceremonies, accordinge to the pure worde of God, and the Lawe of our Lande." 4to. Many copies of this volume were seized on their arrival in London, and delivered to "My Lordes Grace."—See Herbert's Ames, vol. iii. p. 1514, note.

[3] Of their.—(Edit. 1593.)

[4] Followed.—(*Ibid.*)

[5] Violence.—(*Ibid.*)

[6] Simplie indifferent.—(*Ibid.*)

Realme, that ye doe not to uthers that whilk ye would uthers did not to you :[1] Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the conscience of man is :[2] all that have knowledge are not alyke perswadit, yet conscience reclaimes not at the wearing of sick garments ; bot many thousands both godly and learned are utherwayes perswadit, whose consciences are continually striken with thir sentences ; "Whatt hes Chryst Jesus to do with Belial ? What hes[3] darknes adoe with light ?" If surp-claithes,[4] cornett-cap and tippet, has bein badges of idolaters in the verie act of ther idolatrie, what hes the preacher of Christian libertie and the oppin rebuiker of all superstitioun to doe with the dregges of that Romish Beast ;[5] yea, what is he that ought not to feare either to take in his hand or foirheid, the print and marke of that odious Beast ? Our Brethren that in[6] conscience refuses that unprofitable apparrell, does neither damne nor molest you that use sick vaine trifles : If ye sall doe the lyke to them, we doubt not but therein ye sall please God, and comfort the hearts of many whilk are woundit with the extremitie that is usit against these godlie and our belovit Brethren. Colour of rhetorick or manly[7] perswasion will we use none, bot charitablie we desyre you to call that sentence of Peter to mynd, "Feed the flocke of God whilk is committed to your charge, careing for it not be constraint bot willinglie ; not as thogh ye were Lords over Gods heritage, but that ye may be ensamples to the flocke." And farther, also, we desyre you to meditate that sentence of the Apostle, saying, "Give none offence neither to the Jewes, nor to the Grecians, nor to the Kirk of God." In what conditioun of tyme ye and we both travell in the promoting of Chryst's kingdome, we suppose you not to be ignorant, and therfor we are more bold to exhort you to walke more circumspectly, then that for sick vanities the godly sould be troubled ; for all things that may seime lawfull edifie not. If the commandment of the Authoritie urge the conscience of you and of our brethren farther than they can beare, we unfainedly crave of you that ye remember ye are callit the "light of the world," and "the salt of the earth." All civill[8] auctoritie hes not the light of God alwayes shyning befor the eyis in there statutes and commandments ;[9] bot there affectiouns savour over meikle of the earth and of worldlie wisdom, and therfore we thinke ye sould boldly oppone yourselves to all that power that will or darre extoll itself, not only agains God, but also agains all sick as darre burdein the consciences of the faithful, farther then God hes burdeinit

[1] Not that uthers should do unto you. —(*Ibid.*)

[2] The conscience is tender.—(Marginal note.)

[3] Fellowshippe is their betwixt darknes and light?—(Edit. 1593.)

[4] Surplesse.—(*Ibid.*)

[5] Nota.—(Marginal note.)

[6] Of.—(Edit. 1593.)

[7] Humane.—(*Ibid.*)

[8] Called to.—(*Ibid.*)

[9] Before their eyes, but their affections, etc.—(*Ibid.*)

them be his awin word.[1] Bot heirin we may confesse our offence, in that we have entrit farther in reasoning then we purposed[2] and promised at the beginning; and therfor we shortlie returne to our former humble supplicatioun, whilk is, That our brethren who among you refuse the Romish ragges, may find of you, the Prelates, sick favour as our Heid and Master comands every ane of his members to shaw to another; whilk we looke to receive of your gentlenes, not only for that ye feare to offend God's Majestie, in troubling of your brethren for sick vaine trifles, but also because ye will not refuse the humble requeist of us, your brethren and fellow preachers,[3] in whom albeit there appeir not great worldlie pompe, yet we suppose that ye will not so farre despyse us, bot that ye will esteime us to be of the number of them that fights agains that Roman Antichryst, and travell that the kingdom of Jesus Chryst may be universallie[4] advanceit. The days are ill;[5] iniquitie abounds; Christian charity alas is waxen cold; and therfor we ought the more diligentlie to watch, for the houre is uncertaine when the Lord Jesus sall appeir, befor whom ye,[6] your brethren, and we, must give account of our administratioun. And this in conclusion, we anes againe crave favours to our Brethren, whilk grantit, ye in the Lord sall command us things of double more importance.[7] The Lord Jesus rule your hearts in true feare to the end, and give to you and us victorie over that conjured enemie of all true Religioun, to witt over[8] that Roman Antichryst, whose woundit head Satan preases[9] by all means to cure againe. Bot to destructioun sall he and his mantainers goe, by the power of the Lord Jesus: To whose mightie protectioun we heartlie commit you. From Edinburgh, out of our Generall Assemblie, and third Sessioun therof, the 27 of December 1566.[10]

Your loving Brethren and fellow-preachers in Chryst Jesus,

JOHNE CRAIG.	JOHN ROW.
JAMES MELVILL.	DAVID LINDSAY.
ROBERT PONT.	JOHN ARESKINE.
WILLIAM CHRISTESON.	JOHN WINRHAME.
NICOLL SPITTELL.	JOHN SPOTSWOOD.

[1] "Bi. Should open the treuth."—(Marginal note.)

[2] Then we promised at, etc.—(Edit. 1593.)

[3] Of Christ Jesus.—(*Ibid.*)

[4] Universallie may be.—(*Ibid.*)

[5] Evil.—(*Ibid.*)

[6] Yea, your brethren, etc.—(*Ibid.*)

[7] "Bi. To deale well with their brethren."—(Marginal note.)

[8] Victorie over that Roomish Antichrist whose, etc.—(Edit. 1593.)

[9] Satan by all, etc.—(*Ibid.*)

[10] In place of these names that follow, the edit. 1593 substitutes "From Edenborough . . . . Anno 1566. Your loving brethren and fellowe-preachers in Christ Jesus: JOHN DAVIDSON for JAMES NICHOLSON, Writer and Clarke of the Church of Edenborough."

THE GENERALL ASSEMBLIE OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND CONVEINIT AT EDINBURGH THE XXV OF DECEMBER 1566, TO THE NORILITIE OF THIS REALME THAT PROFESSES THE LORD JESUS WITH THEM, AND HES RENOUNCEIT THAT ROMAN ANTICHRYST, DESYRE CONSTANCIE IN FAITH AND THE SPIRIT OF RIGHTEOUS JUDGEMENT.[1]

Seing that Satan, be all our negligence (Right Honorable) hath so far prevailed . . . rule your hearts in his true feare to the end. Your Lordships answer we againe crave. Givin in the Generall Assembly . . . the 27 of December 1566.

(See vol. ii. pp. 539-541.)

LETTER TO THE PROFESSORS OF RELIGION WITHIN THIS REALM, ETC.[1]

The Lord cometh and shall not tarrie, &c.

To deplore the miseries of these our most wicked dayis (beloved Brethren), . . . Let us know your mindes with expedition.

At Edinburgh, the 27 of December 1566.

(See vol. ii. pp. 542-544.)

LETTER TO EARLS, LORDS, BARRONS, AND COMMENDATORS OF ABBAYES, FOR CALLING A MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO BE HELD AT EDINBURGH, IN JULY 1567.

MY LORD (or Worshipful Sir), After our maist heartlie commendatiouns of service in the Lord Jesus: Having now of lang time travellit both in public and private with all the Estates, continually craveing of your Honours in special, that the course of the Evangell of Salvation, now once by the liberall mercie of God restorit to this realme, might continue to all your comforts, and your posterities; and that for the mainteinance and furthering thereof, ane perfyte policie and full libertie might be grantit to this reformit Kirk within Scotland, the ministrie, the pure and failyeit provydit for sufficiently, as God and all good policie and civil lawes ordaines and requyres; and that all superstition

[1] "MR. KNOX wrote another letter, wherein he advertised what was the danger which might ensue of the gift and power granted to the bastard Bishop of Sanct Andrews (John Hamilton) as followeth." — (Calderwood's History, vol. ii. p. 337.)

and idolatry, and the monuments therof, might be utterly removit and banishit out of this realme, quhilk God of his infinite mercy hes so lovingly and willingly callit from darkness to light. This matter indeed was lyked of all men; but sick impediment gave the enemie of the Kirk in his members to stay the good worke of God, that moyen could there none be had, but be the contrair, at every light occasion, the ministrie frustrat of all lyfe and sustentatioun; the lamit and impotent members of Chryst lying in the street as dung, perishing for hunger and cold, yea and the whole flock of Chryst Jesus within this realme continuallie threatnit with the execution of that most cruell decreit of the last Councell of Trent, wherin was determinit and decreeit to make ane sacrifice of the whole professors within all Europe, be the tyranny of that Roman Antichryst. We are not ignorant how farre the samein was attemptit be way of deid within the Realme of France, how farre now in Flanders and in parts neir adjacent therto; and also quhat practising to that effect hes bein continually thir thrie yeirs by past, and even now of late dayes, within our awin bowells, be our commoun conjured enemies, alsweill within as without this realme, how they were bent to ther enterprize, if God had not of his meere mercie preveined beyond all our knowledge and expectatioun, their cruel and craftie practises. Upon the quhilk consideratioun, the Assemblie at this present convention of the Kirk, accustomit at the course of tyme occureand, hes thoght it needfull to repaire the decay and ruine of that worke so vertueously begun amongst us be ane universall concurrence and consent of the haill professours of Chryst Jesus within this Realme, and be the same meanes to meet the forsaid dangers hingand over our heids, proceiding from the craft of our implacabill enemies, alsweill within as without the same; and to that effect hes ordainit ane Generall Assemblie of the haill professors of all estates and degries within the kirks of Scotland, to be haldin heir within this towne of Edinburgh, upon the xx day of this nixt moneth of Julij, quherby ane perpetuall ordour may be takin for the libertie of the Kirk of God, sustentatioun of the ministers and failyeit members therof, and that ane sure union and conjunctioun may be had amongst the haill members for the libertie of Gods Kirk, quherby we may be able to withstand the rage and violence of the forsaids enemies. And because it hes pleased the goodnes of God so to move your Lordships heart, that ye are a notable instrument and member of his Kirk, as our hope is, so sall our prayer be, that ye may continue increasing from vertue to vertue unto life everlasting, we thoght it our duetie, in name of our haill brethren heir conveinit, to notifie to your Lordship the foirsaid appointment of the said Assemblie, and in the name of the Eternall our God, to recommend to your care and solicitude the building of this ruinous house of God within this Realme: Requyreing also in his name, that ye will give your personal presence, your labours and concurrencis

to that effect, as in the forsaid Assemblie to be haldin the said day, that the haill body may be comforted be the presence and good advyce of so notour ane member therof. And because we doubt nothing but your Lordship salbe present, shewing so long experience of your good part in all tymes past, we cease to trouble you with longer letter, referring the rest to be declarit be our brethren the Commissioners of the Kirk, who to this effect are direct to your Lordship, and uthers our brethren in these partis; and we, for our part, sall earnestlie pray to God, to augment in you his love and feare, and blesse your Lordship to the comfort of his Kirk, Amen. From Edinburgh, the 26 of Junij 1567.

Be your Lordships to command with service in Chryst Jesus, in name of the rest of our Brethren here assembled.

JOHN ERSKINE OF DUN.
JOHN KNOX.
MR. JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, Superintendent of Lothian.
MR. JOHN DOWGLAS, Rector of the University of St. Andrews.
JOHN ROW.
MR. JOHN CRAIG.

(The names of the persons to whom this letter was directit, are the Erles, Huntlie, Argyle, Cassills, Rothes, Crawfurd, Marishall, Menteith, and Glencarne; Lords, Boyd, Drummound, Sanquhar, Herreis, Cathcart, Yester, Fleming, Levingstoun, Forbes, Salton, Glames, Ogilvie, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Innermeath; Mr. of Grahame, Mr. of Sinclair, Mr. of Somervell; Barrons, Lochinvar, Gairleis; the Sherriff of Air, Glenurquhart, Sir James Hamiltoun, Bonytoun; Commendators, Arbroith, Kilwinning, Dumfermeling, St. Colmes, Newbottle, Halyruidhouse.

The Superintendents and Quarters of countreyes were ordained to direct this Letter to the foirsaids persons severallie :)

TENNOUR OF THE COMMISSIOUNS GIVIN TO EVERY ANE OF THE FOIRSAIDS COMMISSIONERS, WITHIN EVERY ANE OF THER BOUNDS RESPECTIVE, FOLLOWES :

Forsameikle as Satan this long time in his members hes so rageit and perturbit the good successe and proceeding in Chryst's religioun within this Realme, be craftie meanes and subtill conspiracies, that the same from tyme to tyme doeth decay, in hazard altogether to be subvertit, unlesse God of his mercie find hastie remeid, and that cheiflie through the extreame povertie of the Ministers who sould preach the word of lyfe to the peiple, who therthrow are compellit, some to leave the vocatioun alluterlie, and some uthers so abstractit be carefull

povertie, that they may not insist so diligently in the exercise of the word as they wold doe. Therfor the Kirk presentlie conveinit at Edinburgh in this Generall Assemblie, hes thoght it most necessar be thir presents to requeist and admonisch most brotherlie all such persons as truely professe the Lord Jesus within this Realme, of what estate or degrie that evir they be, asweill the Nobilitie, Barrones, and Gentlemen, as all uthers true professours, to conveine in Edinburgh the 20 day of Julii nixt, ther to assist with their personall presence, counsell, and power, for ordour to be tane asweill toward the establishing of Chryst's true religioun universallie throughout this haill Realme, and abolishing of the contrair, whilk is Papistrie, as the sustentation of the Ministers, not only for the present tyme and instant necessitie; but also for ane perfyte ordour to be tane and established in all tyme comeing, toward the haill libertie of the patrimonie of the Kirk, and the due restoring of the same to the just possessours therof, according to the Word of God: With certification to all and sundrie (of what estate and degrie so evir they be) that compeirs not, due advertisement being made unto them, that they salbe repute heirafter as hinderers of this godlie purpose, and as dissimulat brethren, unworthie to be esteimit heirafter to be of Chryst's flocke, seing God of his mercie at this present hes offerit some better occasioun nor in tymes bygane, and hes begun to tred downe Satan underfoote. And for the dew requisitioun and admonitioun, in name of the Eternall God, to the effect foirsaid, to all and sundrie the Brethren, alsweill to brugh as to land, the Kirk presentlie conveinit in this Generall Assemblie, be thir presents giveth ther full power and commissioun to their lovites N. and N. for the bounds of N.

In verificatioun heirof thir presents are subscryvit be the commoun Clerk of the Kirk, in the said Generall Assemblie, and second session thereof, haldin at Edinburgh, the 26th day of Junii 1567.

(In the third Session, Mr. Johne Row, minister at Sanct Johnston, was ordained to attend upon the printing of the commission direct be the Kirk, for presenting of the foresaid missives, and to bring so manie as sall be necessarie to be sent, to be subscribed be the Clerk of the Assemblie, and the names of the Commissioners to be insert accordinglie. And in like maner, ordained Mr. Johne Wood, to cause write so manie missives as sall be needfull, to be sent to the Erles, Lords, Barrons, and other Brethrein, and to returne the said missives to be subscrived and directed.[1])

[1] Booke of the Universall Kirk, vol. i. p. 97.

Letter of the General Assembly to Mr. John Willock,[1] requesting him to return to Scotland from England.

Videbam Satanam sicut fulgur de Cœlo cadentem.

As the Lord our God hath at all times beene from the beginning of this his worke of Reformation and restitution of the purity of his true worship and religion within Scotland, (loving Brother in the Lord,) most beneficiall and bountifull towards this Realme, so hath he now be this last most miraculous victory and overthrow, poured furth in greatest abundance the riches of his mercie, in that not only he hath driven away the tempest and storme, but also hath quyeted and calmed all surges of persecution; as now we may think weill our ship is receaved, and placed in a most happy and pleasant port; our enemies, praised be God, are dashed; religion established; sufficient provision made for ministers; ordour taken, and penalties appoynted, for all sort of transgression and transgressours; and above all, a godly magistrat, whom God of his eternall and heavenly Providence hath reserved to this age, to put in execution whatsoever he by his law commandeth. Now then, loving Brother, as your presence was to us all in time of trouble most comfortable, so it is now of us all universally wished, but most earnestly craved be your own flock, who continually at all Assemblies have declared the force of that conjunction, the earnestness of that love, the pith of that zeal and mutual care that bindeth the Pastor with his flock, which neither be processe of time is diminished, nor be separation and distance of place restringed, nor yet be tyrannie and fear dissolved. True it is, that at this their most earnest and just petition, we have ever still winked this whyle bypast; not but that to us all your absence was most dolourous; but in respect of troubles, we judged more meet to await for such opportunity as now God, in this most wonderfull victory of his Evangel, hath offered.

Therfor seing all impediments are removed, and your flock still continueth in earnest suit for you, and now every where throughout

[1] Mr. John Willock was a native of Ayrshire, and born in the early part of the sixteenth century. He belonged to one of the monastic orders, but having embraced the Reformed opinions he retired to England about the year 1539. During the persecutions, in the reign of Queen Mary, he went abroad, and practised as a physician at Embden. On returning to Scotland in October 1558, he engaged in the public work of the ministry, and proved one of the most active and zealous of the Protestant party. He was admitted Superintendent of Glasgow and the West, on the 14th of September 1561, the Duke of Chattelherault, the Earl of Arran, etc., being present.

the Realme Commissioners and Superintendents placed, and one offered to them, and be them refused altogither, awaiting for yow; we could no longer stay, but agree to this their desire, in suit whereof neither through fear have they fainted, nor by charges retarded, nor yet by any kind of offer desisted; and as we have been moved to grant to them that which they have thus humbly and continually suited, we cannot but perswad ourselves but yow will satisfie the same; neither can we think that the shepherd will refuse his flock; that the father will reject the just petition of his son; least of all, that the faithfull servant of God will shut up his ears at the voice and commandment of the Kirk, or yet deny his labours to his own Country. The time is proper now to reape with blythnesse that which be you before was sowen in tears, and enjoy the fruit of your most wearisome and painfull labours. It shall be no less pleasant to you to see your own native Countrie at liberty and freedom, quhich ye left mourning and sobbing, under the heavie burden of most cruell servitude, then comfortable to behold the religioun of Jesus Christ throughout all the Realme flourishing, vertue increasing, vertuous men in reputation; and finally to embrace these dayes, quhich howsoever be your self they have been most piously desired, yet could yow never look to attain the same. Now, at last, to conclude, unless yow will be ane enemie to your Country, yow will not refuse these requeists; unless yow will be stubborn and disobedient, yow will not contemne the commandment of the Kirk; unless yow will be careless and unthankfull, yow will not despise the humble, continuall and earnest suit of your flock; and last of all we assure our selves, that yow are not so astricted and addicted to your own particular, as that this generall and common cause should be in anywise be you neglected. Now shall yow see the kaipstone of that Work wherof ye layed the foundation. Thus we cannot look for any other answer then yee shall give be your self, and with all expedition possible.[1] Our state, yow know, is not so sure but we ever stand upon our watches; but that, we know, will not stay you, seing your compt is so layed. Thus we commit you to the protection of our Lord Jesus. At Edinburgh, in our GENERALL ASSEMBLY, and seventh Session thereof, (January 1567-8).

[1] The above letter, written by Knox in the name of the Assembly, had the effect of bringing Willock back for a time; and on the 1st of July 1568, when the General Assembly met at Edinburgh, Mr. John Willock, Superintendent, of the West, was chosen Moderator. He seems to have returned to England during the following year, as in February 1570 he wrote to Knox lamenting the death of the Regent Murray. Willock is supposed to have died about the year 1574.—(See Notices in the Wodrow Miscellany, p. 263.)

THE ORDOVRE OF EXCOMMVNICATIOVN AND OF PVBLICT REPENTANCE,

vſed in the Church of Scotland and commanded to be prented by the generall Aſſemblie of the ſame, in the Moneth of Iunij, 1569.

PRENTID AT EDINBVRGH
BE ROBERT LEKPREVIK.
ANNO. 1569.

It will be observed that the date Junij on the preceding title (and repeated in all the subsequent editions), is an error for Julij 1569, the General Assembly having met at Edinburgh on the 5th of that month. An edition at Edinburgh, in the year 1571, is mentioned in Herbert's Ames, p. 1493, apparently by mistake, as no such republication is known.

In the original edition the Order of Excommunication ends on Signature D 2, and is followed by--

"THE FORME AND ORDOUR OF THE ELECTIOUN OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, WHICH MAY SERVE IN THE ELECTIOUN OF ALL UTHER MINISTERS. AT EDINBURGH, THE 9. OF MARCHE, ANNO 1560, JOHNE KNOX BEING MINISTER." 6 leaves, the last page being blank. Then follows—

"THE ELECTIOUN OF ELDARS AND DEACONIS IN THE CHURCH OF EDINBURGH." 4 leaves, ending on Signature E 4, without any imprint.

These Forms are not here inserted, having already been given in the History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 144 to 150, and p. 151 to 154.

Small 8vo, contains A to E 4 in eights, roman letter.

THE ORDER OF EXCOMMUNICATION,

AND OF PUBLIC REPENTANCE.

To the Reader.

Albeit that in the Booke of Discipline the causes als weill of publict Repentance as of Excommunicatioun, ar sufficientlie expressed: Yit because the Forme and Ordour ar not so set furth, that everie Church and Minister may have assurance that they agree with utheris in proceiding, it is thoght expedient to drawe that Ordour which universallie within this Realme shal be observed.

And First, we man understand what Crymes be worthie of Excommunicatioun, and what of publict Repentance.

In the First, it is to be noted, that all crymes that be the law of God deserve death, deserve also Excommunicatioun from the societie of Christis Church, whither the offendar be Papist or Protestant: For it is no reason that, under pretence of diversitie of religioun, open impiety shuld be suffered in the visible body of Christ Jesus; and thairfor wilfull murtherars, adulteraris (lauchfullie convict), sorcerars, witches, conjurars, charmars, and gevars of drinks to destroy children, and opin blasphemars (as if ony renunce God, deny the trueth and the authority of his Holie Word, rayll aganis his blessed Sacramentis), such, we say, aucht to be Excommunicat from the society of Christis Church, that their impiety may be haldin in greater horror, and that they may be the moir deiply wounded, perceaving themselfes abhorred of the godly. Aganis such opin malefactoris the processe may be summar: For the cryme being knawin, advertisement aucht to be gevin to the Superintendent of the diocey, either be the Minister, or be such as can best geve informatioun of that fact; except in reformed townis and uther places where the Ministerie is planted with Minister and Eldaris, according to the Act of the Generall Assembly made the 26 of December 1568 [1565]. And if there be no Superintendent where the cryme is committed, then aucht the informatioun to pas from such as ar offended to the nixt Superintendent, who with expeditioun aucht to direct his

letters of summonds to the parish church where the offendar hath his residence, if the Ministerie be there planted; and if it be not, or if the offendar have no certane dwelling-place, then aucht the summonds to be direct to the cheife town, and best Reformed Church in that diocy, where the cryme was committed, appointing to the offendar a certain day, time, and place, where and when he shall compeire befoir the Superintendent and his assessors, to heare that cryme tried, as tuching the trueth of it, and to answer for himself, why the sentence of Excommunicatioun should not be pronunced publiklie againis him. If the offendar, lauchfullie warned, compeire not, inquisitioun being takin of the cryme, charge may be gevin be the Superintendent to the Ministers, so many as shall be thoucht necessar for publicatioun of that sentence, to pronunce the same the nixt Sunday, the forme whereof shall after be declared: Bot and if the offendar compeire and alledge for himselfe ony reasonable defence, to wit, that he will not be fugitive from the law, but will abyde the censure thereof for that offence, then may the sentence of Excommunicatioun be suspendit till that the magistrat be required to try that cause: wherein if the magistrats be negligent, then aucht the Church from secret inquisition to proceid till publique admonitioun, that the magistratis may be vigilant in that cause of blood, which cryith vengeance upon the hole land where it is sched without punishment. If no remedie be them can be found, then justly may the Church pronunce the offendar excommunicat, as one suspect, besidis his cryme, to have corrupted the judges, revengeris of the blood: And so aught the Church to proceid to Excommunication, whither the offendar be fugitive from the law, or if he procure pardoun, or elude the severity of justice by means whatsoever besydis the tryal of his innocencie.

If the offender abyde an assise, and by the same be absolved, then may not the Church pronunce excommunicatioun, bot justlie may exhort the man be whose hand the blood was sched, to enter into consideration with himself, how pretious is the lyfe of man before God, and how severely God commandeth blood (howsoever it be sched, except it be by the sword of the Magistrate) to be punished; and so may injoine unto him such satisfactionis to be made publikly to the Church, as may bear testificatioun of his obedience and unfained repentance. If the offendar be convict, and execution follow according to the cryme, then, upon the humble sute of him that is to suffer, may the Eldars and Ministers of the Church not only geve unto him consolatioun, bot also pronunce the sentence of absolutioun, and his sin to be remitted according to his repentance and faith. And thus much for Excommunication of publike Offendars.

And yit farther, we must considdir, that if the offendar be fugitive from the Law, so that punishment cannot be executed againis him, in that caise the Church aucht to delay no time, bot upon the notorietie

of his cryme, and that he is fled from the presence of the judge, it aucht to pronunce him excommunicated publikly, and so continually to repute him, untill such tyme that the magistrat be satisfied: And so whither the offendar be convict in judgment, or be fugitive from the Law, the Church aucht to proceid to the sentence of Excommunicatioun; the Forme whereof followeth:—

THE MINISTER, IN PUBLIKE AUDIENCE OF THE PEPILL, SALL SAY,—

It is cleirlie knawin unto us that N., sometymes baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Sone, and of the Holy Ghost, and so reputed and compted for a Christian, hath fearfullie fallin from the society of Christ's body, by committing of cruell and wilful murther (or by committing filthy adultery, &c.), which cryme be the law of God deserveth death: And because the civil sword is in the hand of God's Magistrat, who notwithstanding oft winkis at such crymes, we having place in the Ministery, with grief and dolour of our harts, ar compelled to draw the sword granted be God to his Church; that is, to Excommunicat from the society of Christ Jesus, from his body the Church, from participatioun of sacraments, and prayers with the same, the said N. AND THEREFORE, IN THE NAME AND AUTHORITIE OF THE ETERNAL GOD, AND OF HIS SON JESUS CHRIST, We pronunce the said N. excommunicate and accursed in this his wicked fact; and charge all that favor the Lord Jesus so to repute and hold him (or hir) untill such time as that either the Magistrat have punished the offendar as Goddis law commandis, or that the same offendar be reconciled to the Church again be publique repentance: And in the mean tyme we earnestlie desire all the faithful to call upon God to move the harts of the upper powers so to punish such horrible crymes, that malefactors may fear to offend, evin for feare of punishment; and also so to tuich the hart of the offendar, that he may deipelie consider how fearefull it is to fall in the hands of the eternal God, that by unfained repentance he may apprehend mercie in Jesus Christ, and so avoid eternal condemnatioun.

[THE ORDOUR TO RECEIVE THE EXCOMMUNICATE AGAIN TO REPENTANCE AND SOCIETIE OF THE FAITHFUL.]

The sentence of Excommunicatioun ones pronunced, the Church may not suddanly admit the murtherar, or convict adulterar, to repentance and society of the faithfull, albeit that pardon be purchased of the Magistrat; bot first aucht inquisition to be taken if the murtherar have satisfied the party offended, that is, the kin and friendis of the man slain; which if he hath not done, neither is understood willing so to do, the Church in no wayis may heare him. Bot if he be willing to satisfie, and the freinds exceid measure and the possibilitie of him that hath committed the cryme, then aucht the Church to put moderatioun

to the unreasonable, incaise the Civil magistrat hath not so done befoir, and so proceid with him that offereth repentance, that the wilfulnes of the indiscreit be not hinderance to the reconciliatioun of him that earnestlie craveth the benefit and society of the Church.

And yit may not the Church receave ony Excommunicat at his first requeist; bot in such grevous crymes as befoir ar expressed (of utheris shall be efter spokin), fourty dayis at the least after his first offer may be appointed, to try whither the signes of repentance appeir in the offendar or not. And yit in the mean tyme the Church may confort him be holsome admonitiouns, assuring him of God's mercy, if he be verily penitent; he may also be admitted to the hearing of the Word; bot in no wyse to participatioun of prayeris, nether befoir nor efter the sermon. The first fourty dayis expyred, upon his new suit, the Superintendent or Sessioun may injoyne such paines as may try whether he be penitent or not: The least ar, the murtherar man stand three several Sundayis in a publike place before the church dore bare-futed and bare-headed, cled in a base and abject apparrell, having the same weapen which he used in the murther, or the lyke, bloody in his hand, and in conceaved words shall say to such as shall enter into the church:—

The Confessioun of the Penitent.

So farre hath Sathan gottin victorie ovir me, that cruelly I have sched innocent blood, for the which I have deserved death corporall and eternall; and so I grant my selfe unworthy of the common light, or yit of the companie of men: And yit because in God there is mercy that passeth all measure, and because the Magistrat hath not takin from me this wretchit lyfe, I most earnestlie desyre to be reconciled again with the Church of Christ Jesus, from the societie whereof mine iniquitie hath caused me to be excommunicated; and therefore, in the bowelis of Christ Jesus, I crave of you to pray with me unto God, that my grevous cryme may be of him remitted, and also that ye will be suppliants with me to the Church, that I abyd not thus Excommunicat unto the end.

At the last of the three Sundayis certain of the Eldaris shall receive him into the Church, and present him before the preaching place, and shall declair unto the Minister, that all that was injoyned to that offendar was obedientlie fulfilled by him. Then shall the Minister recite unto him als well the grevousnes of his sin, as the mercies of God, if he be penitent. And therefter shall require of the Church, If that they desire any farther satisfactioun? And if no answer be gevin, then shall the Minister pronunce his sin to be remitted according to his repentance, and shall exhort the Church to embrace him as a brother,

efter that prayer and thankisgeving be gevin unto God, as efter shall be descryved.

And thus far to be observed for the Ordour in receaving of thame that have committed capital crymes, be it murther, adulterie, incest, witchcraft, or utheris befoir expressed.

Apostates to Papistrie.

Resteth yit one uther kynd of offendaris that deserve Excommunicatioun, albeit not so summarlie, to wit, such as have bene partakers with us in doctrine and sacraments, and have returned back agane to the Papistrie, or have gevin their presence to onie part of their abhominatioun, or yit that of onie long continuance, withdrawe themselfis from the societie of Christis bodie, and from the participatioun of the sacramentis, when they ar publiklie ministred. Such, no doubt, declair themselfis worthie of excommunicatioun; bot first they man be called either befoir the Superintendent, with sum joyned with him, or elis befoir the Eldaris and Sessioun of the best and nixt Reformed Church where the offendaris have their residence, who man accuse their defectioun, exhort them to repentance, and declair to them the danger wherein they stand.

Whom if the offendar hearith, the Sessioun or Superintendent may appoynt him ane day to satisfie the Church publikelie, whom by his defectioun he had offended. Bot if he continue stubburne, then may the Sessioun or Superintendent command the Minister or Ministers to declair the next Sunday the defectioun of such ane person, and his obstinate contempt; and this advertisement being gevin two Sundayis, the third may the sentence of Excommunication be pronunced.

Offences that deserve publike Repentance, and Order to proceide thereintill.

Such offences as fall not under the Civile sword, and yit ar sclanderous and offensive in the Church, deserve publike Repentance: and of these sum ar more haynous than utheris,—fornication, drunkennes used, swearing, cursed speaking, chyding, feghting, brawling, and commoun contempt of the ordor of the Church, breaking of the Sabbath, and such like, aucht to be in no person suffered: Bot the sclander being knawin, the offendar should be called befoir the Ministery, his cryme provin, accused, rebuked, and he commanded publiklie to satisfie the Church; which if the offendar refuis, they may proceid to Excommunicatioun, as efter shall be declaired. If the offendar compeir not, summonds aucht to pass to the third time; and then incase he compeir not, the Church may decerne the sentence to be pronunced.

Utheris be less haynous, and yit deserve admonition, as wanton and vain words, uncomelie gestures, negligence in hearing the preachingis, or abstening from the Lordis Table when it is publiklie ministrat, suspicioun of avarice or of pryde, superfluitie or ryotousnes in cheir or

rayment: these, we say, and such utheris, that of the world are not regarded, deserve admonitioun amongis the membres of Christis body: First, secretly, by one or two of those that first espy the offence, which if the person suspected hear, and geve declaratioun of amendment, then there nedeth no farther proces.

Bot if he contempne and despiseth admonitioun, then shuld the former admonisaris tak to themselfis two or three faithful and honest witnesses, in whose presence the suspected offendar shuld be admonished, and the causes of their suspitioun declaired; to whom if then he geve significatioun of repentance, and promise of amendment, they may cut off all farther accusatioun: Bot and if he obstinately contempne both the said admonitiouns, then aucht the first and second brethren to signifie the matter to the Ministers and Eldaris in their Sessioun, who aucht to call the offendar, and, before the complainars, accuse him als weill of the cryme, as of the contempt of the admonitioun. If then he acknawledge his offence, and be willing to satisfie the brethren befoir offended, and the Sessioun then present, there nedeth no farther publication of the offence.

Bot if he declair himself inobedient to the Session, then without delay the nixt Sunday aucht the cryme, and the ordor of admonitionis passed befoir, be publiklie declaired to the Church, and the person (without specificatioun of his name) be admonished to satisfie in publique that which he refused to do in secret: And that for the first. If he offerris himself to the Church befoir the nixt Sunday, the discretioun of the Ministerie may tak such ordor, as may satisfie als weill the private personis that first war offended, as the Church, declairing the repentance and submissioun of that brother, that befoir appeared stubburne and incorrigible.

Bot and if he abyde the second publict admonitioun, when that his name shall be expressed, and his offences and stubburnnes declared, then can no satisfactioun be receaved bot in publict; yea, it may not be receaved befoir that he have humblie required the same of the Ministerie and Sessioun of the Church in their appointed Assemblie.

If he continue stubburne, then the third Sunday aucht he to be charged publiklie to satisfie the Church for his offence and contempt, under the pain of Excommunication; the Order whereof shall efter be declaired. And thus a small offence or sclander may justly deserve Excommunication, by reason of the contempt and disobedience of the offendar. If the offendar schaw himself penitent betwene the first admonitioun and the second, and satisfie the Ministerie of the Church, and the brethren that were befoir offended in their Assemblie, then it may suffice that the Minister, at commandement of the Sessioun, declair the nixt Sunday (without compeiring or expressing of the person) his repentance and submissioun in these or uther wordis:—

It was signified unto you befoir, deirlie belovit, that one certan

brother (or brethren) was noted, or at the least suspected of some offence wherof he being admonished by one or two, appeared lightlie to regard the same; and therefoir was he and his offence notified unto the Ministerie in their Assemblÿ, who, according to their deuty and charge, accused him of the same; and not finding in him such obedience as the professioun of ane Christian requireth, fearing that such offences and stubburnnes shuld engender contempt, and infect utheris, they war compelled to notifie unto you the cryme and the proceidingis of the Sessioun, mynding to have soucht the uttermost remedie incase the offendar had continued obstinate. Bot seeing that it hath pleased God to mollifie the hart of our brother, whose name we neid not to expresse, so that he hath not onlie acknowledged his offence, bot also hath fullie satisfied the brethren that first war offended, and us the Ministerie, and hath promised to abstene from all appearance of such evill, as whereof he was suspected and admonished, we have no just cause to proceid to onie farther extremitie, bot rather to glorifie God for the submissioun of our brother, and unfainedlie pray unto him, that in the lyke caise we and everie one of us may geve the lyke obedience.

The Forme of publique Repentance.

It is first to be observed, that none may be admitted to publique repentance except that first they be admitted thereto be the Sessioun and Assemblie of the Ministeris and Eldaris; in the which they aucht sharplie to be examinat, what feire and terrour they have of God's judgmentis, what hatred of sin, and dolour for the same, and what sense and feiling they have of God's mercies: In the which if they be ignorant, they aucht diligently to be instructed; for it is bot ane mocking to present such to publik repentance, as neither understand what sin is, what repentance is, what grace is, nor be whom God's favour and mercie is purchased. After then that the offender shall be instructed in the Assemblie, so that to have sum taist of God's judgements, bot chiefly of God's mercies in Christ Jesus, he may be presented before the publik Church upon a Sunday after the sermon, and before the Prayeris and Psalme, and then the Minister shall say,—

Beloved and dearest Brethren, we, be reason of our charge and Ministery, present befoir you this brother, that by the infirmitie of the flesh and craft of Sathan, hes feirfullie fallen from the obedience of his God, by committing N. of a crime, &c. (let the sin be expressed); by the which he hes not only offended against the Majestie of God, bot also by the same hes gevin great sclander and offence till his holy congregatioun; and therefore doeth till his owin confusion (bot to the glorie of God and our great confort) present himself here before you, to witnes and declair his unfained repentance, the thrist and the caire that he hes

we without hypocrisie, damning that which thy law pronunceth injust, may atteine to some sense and feiling of thy mercy, which thou hast abundantly shawen unto mankynd in Jesus Christ our Lord.

Grant, O Lord, unto this our brother, the repentance of the hart, and sincere confession of the mouth, to the praise of thy Name, to the confort of thy Church, and to the confusion of Sathan. And unto us grant, O Lord, that albeit we cannot live altogether cleine of sinne,[1] yit that we fall not in horrible crymes to the dishonor of thy holy Name, to the sclander of our brethren, and infamy of thy holy Evangel, which we professe. Let thy godly power, O Lord, so strengthen our weaknes, that nether the craft of Sathan, nor the tyranny of sinne, draw us utterly from thy obedience. Give us grace, O Lord, that by holines and innocencie of lyfe, we may declaire to this wicked generatioun what difference there is betwixt the sones of light and the sones of darknes; that men seeing our gud workis, may glorify thee, and thy Sone Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redemer; to whom with Thee, and the Holy Spirit, be all honor, praise, and glory, now and ever. Amen.

The Prayer finished, the Minister shall turne him to the Penitent brother, and in full audience shall say:—

You have heard,[1] brother, what is your dewtie towardes the Church, which ye have offended, to wit, that willingly ye confesse that cryme that you have committed, asking God mercie for the same, and so that ye may reconcile your self to the Church which ye have offended. You have hard also the affection and care of the Church towardes you their penitent brother, notwithstanding your grevous fall, to wit, that we all heir present joyne our sinnes with your sinne; we all repute and esteime your fall to be our owen; we accuse our selfis no less then we accuse you. Now, finally, we joyne our prayeris with youris, that we and ye may obtene mercy, and that by the means of our Lord Jesus Christ. Let us, therefore, brother, have this confort of you, that ye wil openlie and simplie confesse your cryme, and give to us attestation[2] of your unfained repentance.

The Penitent shall then openlie confesse the cryme, whatsoever it be, and shall desyre God's mercie, and pray the Church to call to God for mercie with him, and unfainedly desyre that he may be joyned againe to their society and number.

If the Penitent be confounded with shame, or such ane one as cannot distinctlie speik to the confort and instruction of the Church, the Minister shall mak repetition, that every head may be understood by it self, and thereafter shall ask the penitent if that be his confession, and if so he beleveth. His answer affirmative being receaved, the Minister shall

[1] "Sinne," and "heard," are usually printed "sine," and "hard."

[2] Some copies have *a testimony*.

but by grace only), that we be not eschamed in this same sort to humble our selfis and confesse our offence. Now, therefore, brother, as we all praise God in this your humiliatioun, beseiking him that it be without hypocrisie, so it becummeth ye earnestly to considder of what mind and with what hart ye present your self heir before this Assemblie. It is not your sine that shall separate you from your God, nor from his mercy in Jesus Christ, if ye repent the same; bot hypocrisie and impenitencie, which God remove from you and us, is nowise tolerable before his presence.

The Offendar aucht to protest before God, that he is sory for his sinne, and unfainedly desyreth God to be mercifull unto him, and that for the obedience of his deir Sone our Lord Jesus Christ.

THE MINISTER.

We can only see that which is without, and according to your confessioun judge, leaving the secretis of the hart to God, who only can try and search the same. Bot because unfeaned repentance for sinne, and simple confessioun of the same, ar the mere giftis of God, we will joyne our prayeris with youris, that the one and the uther may be granted to you and us.

THE PRAYER.

Eternal and everliving God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thow that by the mouth of thy holy Propheites and Apostillis hes plainlie pronunced, that thow desyrest not the death of ane sinner, bot rather that he may convert and live; who also hes sent thy only Sone to suffer the cruell death of the croce, not for the just, but for such as find themselfis oppressed with the burden of sinne, that by him and his advocation they may have accès to the throne of thy grace, being assured, that before thee they shall find favour and mercy: We are convened, O Lord, in thy presence, and that in the Name of this same our Lord Jesus thy deir Sone, to accuse before thee our sinnes, and before the feit of thy Majesty, to crave mercy for the same. We most humbly beseche thee, O Father of Mercies, first, that thou wilt tuich and move our harts by the power of thy Holy Spirit, in such sort, that we may come to ane trew knawledge of our sinnes; bot cheifly, O Lord, it will please thee to move the hart of this our brother N., &c., who, as he hes offended thy Majesty, and ane great number of this thy holy congregation, by his grevous and publik sine, so doeth he not refuse publikly to acknawledge and confesse the same, as that this his humiliatioun gevin to the glory of thy Name presently doeth witnes. Bot because, O Lord, the external confessioun, without the dolour of the hart, availeth nothing in thy presence, we most humblie beseche thee, that thou wilt so effectually move his hart, and ouris also, that he and

that thou hast commanded thy Word and holie Evangel to be preached, to the end that the penitent shall have an assurance of the remission of their sinnes, not onlie for a tyme, bot even als oft as men from sorrowfull hartis shall call for thy grace and mercie. In consideration of this thy Fatherly adoption and ineffable clemencie shawen upon us, we cannot bot praise and magnifie thy Fatherlie mercie ; an testimonie whereof we not onlie feile in our selfis, but also see the same evidentlie in the conversion of this our brother, whom Sathan for an tyme held in bondage, bot now is set at freedome by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and is returned againe to the societie of his bodie. Grant unto us, heavenlie Father, that he and we may more and more be displeased for our sinnes, and proceid in all manner of gud workis, to the praise of thy holy Name, and edification of thy Church, by Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. So be it.

The Thankesgiving being finished, the Minister shall requyre of the Penitent, if that he will be subject to the Discipline of the Church, in caise that he after offend : Who answering that he will, the Minister shall say, in maner of Absolution :—

If thou unfainedly repentis thy former iniquity, and beleves in the Lord Jesus, then I, in his Name, pronunce and affirme that thy sinnes ar forgevin, not only on earth, but also in heaven, according to the promises annexed with the preiching of his Word, and to the power put in the Ministerie of his Church.

Then shall the Eldaris and Deacons, with Ministers (if anie be), in the name of the hole Church, take the reconciled brother by the hand, and embrace him, in signe of full reconciliation.

Then after shall the Church sing the CIII. Psalme, so much as they think expedient ; and so shall the Assemblie, with the benediction, be dismissed.

THE FORME OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

After that all admonitions, both private and publict, be past, as before is said, then must the Church proceid to Excommunication, if the offender remain obstinate. The Sunday, therefore, after the thrid publik admonition, the Minister being before charged by the Session or Elders, shall thus signify unto the Church after the sermon :—

It is not unknowen unto you, with what lenity and carefulnes the Ministerie and the whole Church, by private and publict admonitions hath sought N., etc., to satisfie the Church, and to declare himself penitent for his grevous crymes and rebellion, by the which he hath offended God's Majestie, blasphemed his holie Name, and offended his Church ; in whom to this day we finde nothing bot stubburnnes : We

cannot, therefore, of conscience, wink anie longer at the disobedience of the saide N., lest that his example infect and hurt uthers: We are compelled, therefore, in the feare of God, to give the said N. into the hands and power of the devill, to the destruction of the flesh, if that by that meane he may be broght to the consideration of himself, and so repent and avoide that fearfull condemnation that shall fall on all inobedient in the day of the Lord Jesus. And lest that onie shuld think that we do this of manlie presumption, without the assurance of the Scriptures, ye shall shortlie hear what commandement and authoritie we have so to do.

First, We have the commandement of our Maister and Saviour Jesus Christ, to holde such for ethniks and publicanes as will not hear the voyce of the Church: but plaine it is, that this obstinate N. hath contemptuouslie refused all wholsome admonitions, and therefore we (not one or two, but the whole Church) must holde him as a publicane, that is, as one cut off from the bodie of Jesus Christ, and unworthie of anie societie with him, or with the benefites of his Church, till his new conversion and his receaving againe.

Secundarly, We have the command of the Apostle St. Paul, and that fearful sentence, which he, being absent, did notwithstanding pronunce against the incest, with his sharpe rebuke to the Corinthians, because that with greater zeale and expedition they expelled not from amonges them that wicked man. And if anie thinke that the offence of this foir-named obstinate is not so haynous as that of incest, let such understand, that mercie and favour may rather be graunted til anie uther sinne then to the contempt of holesome admonitions, and of the just and laughfull ordinances of the Church. For uther sinnes, how haynous so ever they be (so be it that they deserve not death), as by unfeaned repentance they ar remitted before God; so upon the same humblie offered unto the Church, order may be taken, that the offender may be conforted, and at lenth restored to the societie of the Church againe: but such as proudlie contempne the admonition of the Church, private or publike, declare themselfes stubburne, rebellious, and altogether impenitent, and therefore most justlie ought they to be Excommunicate.

The precept of God gevin under the law, to expell from the middes of God's people such as were leprous (without exception of persons), is to us an assurance that we ought to expell from the societie of Christ's body such as be striken with spiritual leprosie; for the one is no lesse infective and dangerous then is the uther. Now, seeing that we know Excommunication is God's ordinance, let us in few words understand the utility and use of the same.

By it, first, the Church is purged of open wicked doers, which is no small commodity, considering that we feght in the middes and eyes of this wicked generation, which seiketh in us nothing more than occasion of sclander. Secondarly, By it is the Church and every member of the

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same reteaned in obedience and feare, whereof all have need, if the frailtie of our flesh shall be rightly considdered. Thirdly, By it we exercise ane singular worke of charity, while that we declare our selfes carefull to kepe the flock of Christ in purity of maners, and without danger to be infected: for, as it war a worke both uncharitable and cruell to joyne together in one bed persones infected with pestilent or uther contagious and infective sores, with tender children, or with such as war hole, so it is no lesse crueltie to suffer amonges the flock of Jesus Christ such other obstinat rebelles: for trew is that sentence of the Apostle,—"A little leaven corrupteth the whole masse." But lest that we shuld seme to usurpe power owir the Church, or to doe any thing without the knowledge and consent of the whole body, for this present we delay the sentence, willing, such as have any thing to object in the contrair, to propone the same the nixt Session day, or eles to signify the same to some of the Ministeris or Eldaris, that answer may be gevin thereto; and in the meane tyme we will call to God for the conversion of the impenitent.

A Prayer for the Obstinat.

Eternall and everliving God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose verie property is to shaw mercie, and to restore life, even when to man's judgement death hath gottin dominion over thy creatures: for thou first soght, called, accused, and convicted our father Adam after his transgression; and being so dead in sinne, and thrall to Sathan, that he could nether confesse his offence, nor yit ask mercy for the same, thou by thy free promises of mercy and grace gave unto him a new lyfe and strenth to repent. The same ordor must thou kepe, O Lord, with all thy chosen children of his posteritie: for in mannis corrupt nature there can be no obedience, whill that thou by operation of thy Holy Spirit worke the same. And therefore, we most humbly beseke thee, for Jesus Christ thy Sones sake, pitifullie to look upon this thy creature, who ones was baptized in thy Name, and hath professed himself subject to thy religioun and unto the discipline of thy Church, whome Sathan, alas, now so blyndeth, that obstinately he contemneth the one and the uther. We have followed, O Lord, the reule prescribed unto us by thy deir Sone our Lord Jesus Christ, in admonishing and threatning him; bot hidderto have profited nothing concerning him and his humiliation.

But, O Lord, as thou alone knowes, so may thou alone change and mollifie the harts of the proud and impenitent: thou, by the voce of thy Prophet Nathan, wakened David from his dedlie securitie: thou, without anie prophet, bet down the pryde of Manasses in the prison, after he had sched the blood of thy servandis, and had replenished Jerusalem with all kynd of impitie: thou turned the hart of Peter at

the look of thy deir Sone our Lord Jesus Christ, efter that feirfullie, with horrible imprecationis, he had thrise openlie denyed him.

O Lord, thy mercies without measure endure for evir, to the which we efter long travell do remit this obstinat and impenitent; earnestlie desiring thee, O Father of mercies, first so to peirse his hart with the feir of thy severe judgements, that he may begin to understand, that thus contemning all holesome admonitions, he provokis thy wraith and indignation againes himself. Open his eyis, that he may see how feirful and terrible a thing it is to fall into thy hands: and therefter mollifie and oynt his hart by the unction of thy Holy Spirit, that he may unfeanedly convert unto thee, and geve unto thee that honour and obedience that thou requirest in thy holy word; and so to our confort that now mourne for his rebellion, that he may subject himself to the just ordinance of thy Church, and avoide that feirfull vengeance that most assuredly shall fall upon all the inobedient. These thy graces, O heavenly Father, and farther, as thou knowest to be expedient for us, and for thy Church universall, we call for according as we are taught to pray be our soverane Maister, Christ Jesus, saying, OUR FATHER, &c.

The secund Sunday, efter the sermone and publict prayeris, the Minister shall, in audience of the hole Church, ask the Eldars and Deaconis, —who man sit in an eminent and proper place, that there answer may be heard—

THE MINISTER.

Hath N., whom the last day we admonished, under the pain of Excommunication, to satisfie the Church for his publict sclander and contempt of the Ministerie, be himself, or be any uther, offered his obedience unto you?

They shall answere as the Truth is, yea or nay.

If he hath soght the favoris of anie within the Ministerie, with promise of obedience, then shall farther process be delayed, and he commanded to appeir before the Sessioun in there nixt assemblie, where ordor may be takin for his publict repentance, as in the former head is expressed. If he have not labored to satisfie the Church, then shall the Minister proceid and say:

It can not but be dolorous to the bodie, that anie one membre thereof shuld be cut off and perish; and yit it aucht to be more feirfull to the membre then to the bodie, for the membre cut off can doe nothing but putrifie and perish, and yit the bodie may reteine lyfe and strenth. Bot the rebellioun of this obstinat may proceid in one part from ignorance; for it may be that he understandeth not what excommunication is, and what is the danger of the same: I shall therefoir in few wordis oppin the one and the uther.

Laughfull excommunication (for the thundringis of that Romane Antichrist ar bot vanity and wynd) is the cutting off from the body of Jesus Christ, from participatioun of his holy sacramentis, and from publict prayeris with his Church, be publike and solemned sentence, all obstinat and impenitent personis, efter dew admonitionis: which sentence, lawghfullie pronunced on earth, is ratified in heaven, by bynding of the same sinnes that they bynd on earth. The danger hereof is greater than man can suddanly espy; for seeing that without the body of Jesus Christ there abydeth nothing bot death and damnation to mankynd, in what estait shall we judge them to stand, that justly are cut off from the same?

Yea, what horrible vengeance hangeth upon them and their posteritie, notable and severe punishmentis may instruct us: Cain the murtherar was not accursed in his awin person only, bot that same malediction rang in his posteritie, and upon all that joyned therewith, till that all mankynde was destroyed by water (eight persons reserved). Cham lykewyse was accursed in his sone Canaan, the severity whereof proceded evin to the exterminion[1] of that hole race and nation. The sempill word of our Maister Jesus Christ caused the figg-tree suddanly to wither. At the voyce of Peter, Ananias and Sapphira war striken to death. The same God and Lord Jesus, with the power of his Holie Spirit that then was potent and just, wirkis evin now in the Ministerie of his Church, the contempt whereof he will in no wyse suffer unpunished. And therefoir ye that have acquentance or familiarity with the foirnamed obstinat, declair unto him these dangeris, and will him not to tempt the uttermoist. And thus yit again let us pray to God for his conversion.

Let the former Prayer be publictly said.

The thrid Sonday, let the first questioun be proponed by the Minister to the Eldaris and Deaconis, concerning the submission of the Obstinat, so oft admonished, as was proponed the second. If repentance be offered, let ordour be takin, as is befoir said, with a charge to the Church to prayse God for the conversion of that brother. If repentance be not offered, then shall the Minister expone wherein the persone that is to be Excommunicat hath offended, how oft and by whom he hath bene admonished, als weil privatelie as publictly; and shall demand of the Eldaris and Deaconis if it be not so: Whose answer receaved, the Minister shall ask the hole Church if they think that such contempt shuld be suffered amonges them: and if then no man mak intercession for the obstinat, the Minister shall proceid, and say:—

Of very conscience we are compelled to do that which to our hartis is most dolorous, to wit, to geve over in the handis of the Devill, this

[1] This word is changed in the later copies to *rooting out*.

foirnamed obstinat contemner N., whom ones we esteimed a membre of our body; and that not onlie for the cryme that he hath committed, bot much rather for his proud contempt and intollerable rebellioun, lest that our sufferance of him in this his impietie shuld not only be imputed unto us, bot also that he shuld infect uthers with the same pestilence. And therefore we man use the last remedie, how grevous that ever it be unto us: and yit I desire you, for more ample declaratioun of your Christian charity towards him, ye pray with me unto God, now for the last, for his conversioun.

The last Prayer before the Excommunicatioun.

Omnipotent, Eternall, and Mercifull Father, who, for that good-will that thou bearest unto us in Jesus Christ thy deir Sone, wilt not the death and destruction of a sinner, but rather that he, by inspiration and moving of thy Holie Spirit, convert and live; who also doest witnes the vertew and strenth of thy word to be such, that it causeth the mountains to schaik, the rockes to tremble, and the floods to drie up; behald, we thy children and people here prostrat before thee, most humblie beseik thee, in the Name of thy deire Sone our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt move and peirse the hart of our impenitent brother, whom Sathan so long hath indured and hardened; let it pleise thy Majestie, be the vertew of thy Holie Spirit, that thou wilt mollifie the same. Expell his darknes, and by the light of thy grace that thou wilt so illuminat him, that now at lenth he may feil, first, How grevously he hath offended againis thy Majestie; and, secondarly, againis thy holie Church and Assemblie. Give him thy grace to acknawledg, accuse, and damne als weil befoir us whom he hath offended, as befoir thy presence, this his proud contempt, lest that we, by the same provoked, be compelled, with all our greifis, to cut him off thy mysticall bodie, whom we, O Lord, unfeanedly desire to retene within thy Church, as a lyvely member of thy deir Sone our Lord Jesus. Heir us, merciful Father; call back again this our impenitent brother that now tendith to eternal destruction; that we al, who befoir thy presence evin for his rebellion do murne, may receave him again with gladnes and joy, and so render prayse and honour unto thee befoir this thy holie Congregatioun.

We grant our selfis, O Lord, unworthy whom thou should heir, because we cease not to offend thee by our continual transgression of thy holy precepts. Look not upon us, mercifull Father, in this our corrupt nature, bot look thou to thy deir Sone, whom thou of thy mere mercie hast appointed our Head, great Bishop, Advocat, Mediator, and only Propitiator. In him and in the merites of his death. We humblie beseche thee mercifullie to behald us, and suffer not the most innocent blude of thy deir Sone, sched for us, and for this our impeni-

tent brother, to be prophaned by the tyranny and slight of Sathan. Bot, by the vertew of the same, let this our impenitent brother be broght to unfeaned repentance, that so he may escaip that feirfull condemnatioun, in the which he appeireth to fall. This we ask of thee, O heavenly Father, in the boldnes of our Head and Mediator Jesus Christ, praying as he hath taught us, OUR FATHER, &c.

If after this Prayer the Obstinat compeir not to offer his Repentance, then shall the Minister proceid, and say :—

Brethren, seing that as ye have heard this obstinate and impenitent persone, N., hath so grevously offended against God, and against this his holy congregatioun, who by no means (as ye may perceave) can be broght to repentance ; whereof it is evident by the word of God, that he is fallin from the kingdome of heaven, and from the blessed society of the Lord Jesus :

And we, albeit with dolour of our hartes, may now execute that which the commandement of Jesus Christ, and the practise of his Apostle, schaweth that of our office we aucht to do, to wit, that we shall publictly declair and pronunce such to have no society with us, as declair themselfis obstinat and rebellious agains all holsome admonitions, and the blessed ordinances of his Church : and that we may do the same, not out of our awin authority, bot in the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, befoir whom all kneis are compelled to bow, let us humblie fall down befoir him, and on this maner pray, and pronunce this sentence :—

THE INVOCATIOUN OF THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST, TO EXCOMMUNICAT THE IMPENITENT, TOGITHER WITH THE SENTENCE OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

O Lord Jesus Christ, the only and eternall King of all the chosen children of thine heavinly Father, the Head and Lawgiver of thy Church, who by thy awin mouth hast commanded that such offendars as proudlie contemne the admonitiouns of thy Church shall be cast out from the society of the same, and shall be reputed of thy professouris as prophane ethnicks ; we, willing to obey this thy precept, which also we have receaved be institutioun of thy Apostile, ar here presently convened in thy Name, to Excommunicate and cast furth from the societie of thy holie bodie, and from all participatioun with thy Church in sacramentis or prayeris, N. ; which thing we do at thy commandement, and in thy power and authoritie, to the glorie of thy holy Name, to the conservation and edification of this thy Church, in the which it hath pleised thee to place us Ministers, and to the extreme remedie of the stubburne obstinacie of the fore-named impenitent. And because thou hast promised thy self evir to be with us, bot especially with such as uprightly

travel in the Ministery of thy Church, whom also thou hes promised to instruct and guyde by the dictament of thy Holie Spirit, we most humblie beseche thee so to governe and assist us in the execution of this our charge, that whatsoevir we in thy Name do here pronunce on earth, that thou wilt ratifie the same in the heavin. Our assurance, O Lord, is thy expressed word; and therefore, in boldnes of the same HEIR I, IN THY NAME, and at the commandement of this thy present Congregatioun, cut off, seclude, and excommunicat from thy body, and from our societie, N., as one persone sclanderous, proud, a contempnar, and one member, for this present, altogither corrupted and pernitious to the bodie. And this his sin (albeit with sorrow of hart) by vertew of our Ministerie, we bynde and pronunce the same to be bound in heaven and earth. We farther geve over in the handis and power of the Devill the said N., to the destructioun of his flesh, straitlie charging all that professe the Lord Jesus, to whose knawledge this our sentence shall cum, to repute and hald the said N. accursed, and unworthie of the familiar societie of Christians: declaring unto all men, that such as herefter befoir his repentance shall hant or familiarlie accompanie with him, ar partakaris of his impiety, and subject to the lyke condemnation. This our sentence, O Lord Jesus, pronunced in thy Name, and at thy commandement, we humblie desire thee to ratifie according to thy promise. And yit, Lord, thou that camest to save that which was lost, look upon him with the eyis of thy mercie, if thy good pleasure be; and so peirse thou his hart that he may feile in his breist the terrours of thy judgementis, that by thy grace he fruictfully may be converted to thee; and so damning his awin impietie, he may be with the lyke solemnitie receaved within the bosome of thy Church, from the which this day (with greif and dolour of our hartis) he is ejected.

LORD! in thy presence, we protest that our awin affections move us not to this severitie, but onely the hatred of sin, and obedience that we geve to thy awin commandement. And therefore, O heavenlie Father, we crave the perpetuall assistance of thy Holie Spirit, not onlie to brydill our corrupted affections, but also so to conduct us in all the course of our hole lyfe, that we nevir fal to the like impietie and contempt, bot that continuallie we may be subject to the voce of thy Church, and unto the Ministers of the same, who trewlie offer to us the Word of lyfe, the blessed Evangel of thy onlie belovit Sone Jesus Christ; to whom with thee and the Holie Spirit be all prayse, glorie, and honour, now and ever. So be it.

The Sentence pronunced, and the Prayer ended,

The Minister shall admonish the Church, that all the faithfull hald the Excommunicat as an ethnike, as before is said; that no man use his familiar companie; and yet that no man accuse him of onie uther cryme than of such as he is convicted of, and for the which he is ex-

communicat, bot that everie man shall secretlie call to God for grace to be granted to the excommunicat. Such as have office in the Ministerie may upon licence required of the Church, speik with the excommunicat, so long as hope resteth of his conversioun; bot if he contineu obstinat, then aucht all the faithfull utterly to abhor his presence and communication. And yit aucht they more earnestly to call to God, that Sathan in the end may be confounded, and the creature of God fred from his snares by the power of the Lord Jesus. And with the accustomed benediction the Assemblie shall be dimissed, after they have sung the CI. Psalme, or one portion thereof, as it shall pleise the congregatioun.

THE ORDOURE TO RECEAVE THE EXCOMMUNICAT AGANE TO THE SOCIETIE OF THE CHURCH.

First, we must observe, that such as deserve death for the cryme committed, never be admitted to the Societie of the Church, untill such time as either the magistrate punish according to the law, or elles pardon the cryme, as before we have said: but such as for uther offences and for there contempt ar excommunicat, may be received when they shall earnestlie seike the favouris of the Church. They must begyne at the Ministerie, the Eldars, and Deaconis, who must expone there repentance to the Minister or Ministers in their Assemblie: a day may be appointed to the Excommunicat to present himself before them. The signes of his repentance aught to be diligentlie inquired, as what hath bene his behaviour sence the tyme of his excommunication, what he will offer for satisfaction to the Church, and unto whom he hath exponed the griefe and dolour of his hart. If the Excommunicat be found penitent and obedient in all things, the Minister the nixt Sonday may geve advertisement to the hole Church of his humiliation, and command them to call to God for increase of the same: the nixt session day the Minister may appoint to the Excommunicat such satisfaction as they think most expedient; to the which if the excommunicat fullie agree, then may the said Ministerie appoint unto him a certane day when he shall fulfill the same.

For this is principallie to be observed, that no excommunicat persone may be receavid to the societie of the Church again, until such time as he hath stand at the church dure, at the least moe Sundayis than one; Which dayis being expirid, and the hole satisfaction complete, some of the Eldars shall passe to the excommunicat, efter that the formar prayer of the Minister in the pulpet be ended, and shall present him to an certan place appointed for the penitents, where he shall stand in the same habite, in the which he maid satisfaction, untill the sermon be ended: And then shal the same Eldars that broght him into the Church present him to the Minister, with these or the lyke wordis:

This creature of God is, N., that for his wickednes and obstinat rebellion hath bene Excommunicat from the bodie of Jesus Christ, bot now, by the power of the Spirit of God, is called back again by Repentance, so far as the judgement of man can persave, for he hath not only craved the favours of the Ministrie that he might be receaved into the bodie of the Church again, bot also most obediently hath subjected himself to all that we have commanded, for trial of his humiliatioun: And therefoir we present him befoir you to be examinat; and if his repentance be sufficient, to be receaved again to the bodie of the Church.

Then shall the Minister render thanks, first to God for that part of his humiliation, and also desire the Church of God to do the same with him. Therefter he shall addresse him to the person excommunicat, and first shall lay befoir him his sin; therefter, the admonitions that war gevin unto him to satisfie the Church for the same; and last, his proud contempt and long obstinacie, for the which he was excommunicat: And of every one he shall require his peculiar confession, with accusation of himself, and detestation of his impietie; Which being receaved, he shall render thanks to God as followeth:—

We thank the mercie and goodnes of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, for this thy conversion, N., into the which thou hast not so much aschamed thy self, as that thou hast confounded and ovircome Sathan, by whose venoum and deceaveable entisements thou hitherto hast bene rebellious to the holsome admonitions of the Church: And yit because we can bot onlie see that which is externall, we will joyne our prayeris with thyne, that thy humiliation may proceed from the heart.

Let the Prayers appoynted to be said in the receaving of the Penitent [*supra*, p. 457] be said also here: Which ended, let the Church and the Penitent be admonished as there is expremed; except that the cryme of his Excommunication must evir be aggredged and mentionat.

THE PRAYER CONTEINING HIS RECEAVING TO THE CHURCH.

Lord Jesus Christ, King, Teachar, and our eternal Preist, who with the preaching of thy blessed Evangel hes joyned the power to bynd and lowse the sinnes of men, who hes also pronunced, that whatsoevir by thy Ministers is bound on earth shall be bound in the heavin, and also that whatsoever is lowsed by the same, shall be lowsed and absolved with the in the heavin; look, O Lord, mercifullie upon this thy creature N., etc., whom Sathan of long tyme hath haldin in bondage, so that not onlie he drew him to iniquitie, bot also that he so hardened his hart, that he despised all admonitiouns; for the which his sin and contempt we war compelled to excommunicat him from our bodie. Bot now, O Lord, seeing that the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ hath so far prevaled in him, that he is returned to our society, it wil pleise

thee, for the obedience of our Lord Jesus, so to accept him, that his formar inobedience be never laid to his charge, bot that he may increase in all godlines, till that Sathan finally be trodden under his feit and ours, by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom with Thee and the Holy Spirit be all honor and glorie, now and evir. So be it.

The Formie of Absolutioun.

In the Name and authoritie of Jesus Christ, I, the Minister of his blessed Evangel, with consent of this hole Ministery and Church, Absolve thee, N. from the sentence of Excommunication, from the sin by thee committed, and from al censures led againes thee for the same of before, according to thy repentance, and pronunces thy sin to be lousel in heavin, and thee to be reccaved again to the societie of Jesus Christ, to his bodie the Church, to the participatioun of his Sacramentes, and, finally, to the fruition of all his benefits, in the name of the Father, the Sone, and the Holy Spirit. So be it.

The Absolution pronounced, the Minister shall then call him Brother, and geve him admonition to watch and pray, that he fall not in the lyke tentation, that he be thankfull for the mercie shawin unto him, and that he shaw the fruictis of his conversion in lyfe and conversatioun.

Thereftir the hole Ministerie shall embrace him, and such utheris of the Church as be nixt unto him; and then shall a Psalme of thankisgeving be song.

This Ordour may be enlaryed or contracted as the wisedome of the discreit Minister shall think expedient; For we rather shaw the way to the ignorant, than prescribe Ordour to the learned that cannot be amended.

Ane Prayer.

Preserve the publict face of thy Church, within this Realme, O Lord: Dilait the kingdome of thy Sone Jesus Christ universally; and so farther disclois and brek down the tyrannie of that Romane Antichrist, by the power of thy Sone our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it. Anno 1567.

Rom. 16.—*Soli sapienti Deo per Jesum Christum gloria in perpetuum.* Amen.

This Book is thoght necessar and profitable for the Church, and commanded to be printed be the Generall Assemblie. Set furth be Johne Knox *Minister; and sighted be us whose names follow, as we war appointed be the said Generall Assemblie.*

Johne Willok. David Lyndesay.
M. Johne Crag. Guilielmus Christisonis.
Robert Pont. James Greg, etc.
Johne Row.

AN ANSWER

TO A LETTER WRITTEN BY JAMES TYRIE, A SCOTTISH JESUIT.

M.D.LXXII.

THE following tract was Knox's latest publication. The increasing infirmities of age, aggravated by the sad and disheartening state of public affairs, having rendered him unfit for any active duty, he retired, on the 5th of May 1571, to St. Andrews, the scene of his early labours. "He left Edinburgh," says Bannatyne, "sore against his will, being compellit be the Brethren of the Kirk and Town," as his life being threatned, it was considered his remaining might prove an occasion of shedding their blood in his defence.[1] "During his stay at St. Andrews," says his biographer, "he published a Vindication of the Reformed religion, in answer to a letter written by Tyrie, a Scottish Jesuit. The argumentative part of the work was finished by him in 1568, but he sent it abroad at that time, with additions, as a farewell address to the world, and a dying testimony to the truth which he had long taught and defended."[2] In his prefatory address, Knox himself informs us, that when the Jesuit's letter was put into his hands by a faithful brother, requiring him to answer it, he had hastily written a reply to be communicated to the person unto whom the letter was addressed; yet regretting his having done so, it was his intention to have suppressed it. But during this interval of public employment, "in these dolorous times," and when, as he imagined, "he had taken good night of the world, and all the fasherie of the same," he was induced to send the work to press.

The answer to Tyrie was printed at St. Andrews (see p. 479): it also forms part of the volume of Knox's writings in the series of British Reformers, published by the Religious Tract Society, London. The editor, in reference to it, says,

[1] See extract, in a subsequent page, from Richard Bannatyne's Memorials.

[2] M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 207.

"This treatise is among the most interesting of the writings of the Scottish Reformer. The sophistries of the Jesuit are completely exposed, and we have answers to many of those arguments which the Jesuits of the present day have brought forward dressed up in specious colours. The ardent desire of Knox to depart and to be with Christ is fully expressed; and the impartial reader of the letter to Tyrie, with its appendages, will be fully satisfied that Knox was not the turbulent ambitious character which his adversaries represent him to have been."[1]

A brief notice of Knox's antagonist seems to be necessary to introduce this controversy to the reader.

JAMES TYRIE was born at Drumkilbo, near Perth, in the year 1543, and probably spent some time at St. Andrews, without taking the degree of Master of Arts. In the early part of 1563, he left Scotland with Father Edmund Hay the Jesuit, to pursue his theological studies at the University of Louvain. On the 19th of August that year he was at Rome, and at the age of twenty he joined the Society of Jesus, which had but recently been founded by Ignatius Loyola. He was afterwards appointed Professor of Philosophy and Theology in the Jesuit College of Clermont, Paris. His elder brother, David Tyrie of Drumkilbo,[2] appears to have professed the Reformed faith; and in the year 1567 he signed the Bond of Association, connected with Queen Mary's abdication, and the appointment of the Earl of Murray as Regent.[3] His brother James, anxious to reclaim him to the Romish Church, had addressed several letters to him, including the one submitted to Knox, for the purpose of answering it. The letter was "written at Paris the vj December," but the year is not specified. According to Knox's words, "seven years," we might conclude it was written in 1565; but Tyrie's mention of "your invisibll Kirk of Scotland *but yet*

[1] British Reformers, etc. — Knox, p. 262. Lond. (1830) 12mo.

[2] See footnote 2, p. 476.

[3] Printed in Anderson's Collections, relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 231.

aucht year auld," if we should reckon from the Parliamentary proceedings in August 1560, would place it two years later, or in 1567. Dr. George Mackenzie, in his Life of Tyrie, speaks of this Letter as having been printed at Paris in 1568, but the existence of any such edition is more than doubtful.[1]

After Knox's Answer had appeared in 1572, Tyrie lost no time in preparing a Refutation, which he published under the following title :—

THE
REFVTATION
OF ANE ANSVER MA-
DE BE SCHIR IOHNE KNOX,
to ane letter, ſend be Iames Tyrie,
to his vmquhyle
brother.
Sett furth be Iames
Tyrie.
(Hier. 14.—Rom. 10.)

PARISIIS.
Apud Thomam brumerium in clauſo
brunello ſub ſigno Olivæ.
1573.
CVM PRIVILEGIO.

This volume is a small 8vo, closely printed, and consists of fifty-seven leaves besides the title, five leaves of address "To the benevolent Reader," "Daitit at Paris the 8. of Marche 1573," and one leaf of "Errours." The author adopts the same mode as Knox in giving, under separate heads or paragraphs, por-

[1] Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 187.

tions of "The Letter," and "Schir Iohn Knox Answer," accompanied with "The Refutation." In the present volume this latter portion would be quite out of place.

In a letter of Henry Killigrew to Lord Burghley, from Paris, 13th May 1573, is the following reference to Tyrie's Answer:—

"His Grace thought thay had brought over certayne bokes in aunswer of Mr. George Bucanan's wryghten agaynst the Scotsch (Queen), but they were others wryghten by Tirye the Jesowytt in aunswer to a booke of John Knox: one of them confesseth that ther was one of the aunswers to Mr. George B. booke delyvered to our Ambassadour in France; and further, that certayne bulles are brought over from Rome and sent to the rector of the University of Aberdyne, for serch whereof the R. grace hath taken ordre."[1]

Bishop Lesley, in his well-known work, "De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum," published at Rome in 1578, mentions Tyrie in high terms of commendation; as he is also by later Popish writers, such as Hamilton, Dempster, Cone, and Mackenzie. Sir Thomas Urquhart, with his usual bombast, styles him "a profound and universal scholar."

When Tyrie's Refutation was published, both his brother[2] and Knox were dead; but an answer to his work was prepared by John Duncanson, Minister of the King's household. The General Assembly, on the 7th of March 1573-4,[3] appointed Spottiswood, Pont, and other five of their brethren, "to revise and consider the reply made be John Duncansone, Minister of the King's house, against Mr. James Tyrie's last book; and what the said brethren find therein to report again to the

[1] Original Letters in State Paper Office.

[2] On the title of the Refutation 1573 (see 475), Tyrie styles him his *umquhyle* brother, a word always used to denote a person deceased; and we find, from his Confirmed Testament (Edinburgh, 20th April 1577), that he and his spouse, Margaret Fotheringham, deceist in March 1571-2; and that David Tyrie was served heir of his father, David Tyrie of Drumkilbo, Perthshire, 20th May 1572.—(Retours, Perth, No. 27.)

[3] Booke of the Universal Kirk, vol. i. p. 289; Calderwood's History, vol. viii.

Assembly, to the effect it may be understood whither the said Reply may be committed to print or not."

Three years later we learn from the Assembly's proceedings, that Mr. George Hay, Minister of Ruthven, had also submitted to the Assembly, in April 1576, an answer to a work written by Tyrie.[1] Smeton, in his reply to "the Apostate" Archibald Hamilton's Dialogue, thus alludes to these Answers by Hay and Duncanson, as still unpublished in the year 1579: "Ignatianæ quosdam societatis satellites intelligo, qui nil intentatum relinquunt, ut egregiam in Pontificia tyrannide propaganda, et vera religione opprimenda operam navasse voce et scriptis videantur. His scio a perdoctis viris Georgio Hayo et Joanne Dunkesono copiose et accurate responsum: quorum scripta *quia nondum in lucem prodierunt,* putavi pretium aliquod operæ futurum; si hinc lectori exstaret, quo sedata posset conscientia conjuratorum CHRISTI hostium ineptias contemnere. Hoc prolixioris alicubi disputationis consilium fuit."[2]

John Hamilton, Regent in the College of Navarre, in his "Ane Catholik and Facile Traictise," etc., on the Sacrament of the Altar, printed at Paris in 1581, asserts that William Christison, Minister of Dundee, instead of his sitting down to prepare a refutation, caused one of Tyrie's works to be publicly burned at the Market Cross. He gives no date, but his words may be quoted:—

"Gif thou sal demand at ane Calviniste, Quha in the face of the earth befor Calvin sen the Apostlis dayis, of all the doctoris that hes beine sen syne, teachit sik doctrine as Calvin? he sal not haif ane vourd to ansueir, bot haif recourse to the invisibilitie of thair Kirk. It had bein guid to mony saulis that it had remanit invisibil.

"The Donatistis preachit that the vourd of God vas not treulie preachit vnto thair dayis, and that thair vas not ane visibil Kirk befor thair age, as S. Augustin vitnessis vritand

[1] Booke of the Universal Kirk, vol. i. p. 361.

[2] Sign. ¶ iiij.

aganis thame. This hes beine the euasione of all heretikis in all agis falsifeing Christis promeis concerning perpetual succession of pastoris, the quhilk is sa damnabil in the self, and vithout al probabilitie, that nether Knox nor ony of his factione sen his dead dorst tak in hand to vrit ane ansueir to maister *James Tyreis beuk concerning the Visibilitie of the Kirk:* zea quhen sum of thaime scheu thair ansuer to thair General Assemblie, it become inuisibil as thair kirk vas before thame selfis: and lat be to maik ane ansueir to that mannis beuk (quha for his singulare lerning and vprichtnes of lyuing is ane gret honeur to our countrie), *Christisone of Dondie causit burne the same at the market croce,* and sa schauit his auin ignorance, in place to tak the pen to mak ane ansueir vsit the fyre, quhilk vas the seurest vay for him and sik vtheris, quha lyk parrokettis enterteneis the auditouris be clattering tellis. The neakit vourdis of the scripture is not the true vord of God. For S. Paul sayis, *litera occidit:* the letter or scripture literatlie tane, slayis, bot the scripture faithfullie exponit is the treu vord of God,"[1] etc.

Of Father Tyrie's subsequent history, very few words may suffice. He remained for several years in Paris; and in 1590 became Provincial of the Jesuits in France. He was at Rome on the 22d of September 1591; and in 1593 was appointed Assistant to the General of the Jesuits for the provinces of Germany and France. After a brief illness, Tyrie died at Rome, on the 21st of March 1597, leaving behind him for publication several manuscripts to the Library of the professed house "Il Gesù," at Rome; others are supposed to be preserved at Paris.

[1] Sign. V. iiij.

AN ANSWER TO

A LETTER OF A IESVIT NAmed Tyrie, be Iohne Knox.

¶ PROV. XXVI.

Anſwer not a foole according to his fooliſhenes, leaſt thow be lyke him: anſwer a foole according to his fooliſhnes leaſt he be wiſe in his owē cōſeat

THE contrarietie appearing at the firſt ſight, betuix thir twa ſentēcis, ſtayit for a tyme, baith heart to meditate & hand to wryte any thing, cōtrair that blaſpheamous letter. But when with better mynd, God gaue me to conſidder, that whoſoeuer opponis not him ſelf bouldly to blaſphemy & manifeſt leis, differis lytill fra tratouris: cloking & foſtering, ſo far as in them ly, the treaſoun of tratours, & dampnable impietie of thoſe, againſt whome Gods iuſt evengance mon burne without end, vnles ſpedie repentāce follow: To quyet therefore my owne conſcience, I put hand to the pen as followeth.

IMPRENTIT AT SANCTANdrois be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno. Do. 1572.

In small 8vo, roman letter, sign. A to F 5, in eights, 45 leaves, not paged.

JOHNE KNOX, the servand of Jesus Christ, now wearie of the world, and daylie luiking for the resolution of this my earthly Tabernakle, to the Faithfull, that God of his mercy sall appoint to feght after me, desyris grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirite of sanctificatioun, to resist all kynd of impietie, in thir last and moste wicked dayis, wherin Sathan rages, knowing that he hes a short tyme to trouble Goddis peple.

Wonder not, gentill Reidar, that sic ane argument suld proceid fra me in thir dolorous days, after that I have taken gudenight at the world, and at all the fasherie of the same, except to lament for my awin sinnis, and for the sinnis of utheris; of whome (allace) I feir mony can not lament for themselves, becaus they have sauld themselves to wirk impietie, with all gredynes, without sens and fealing of any dolour that proceadeth from God. Yet, Lord, thow knowes thy owen, and thow drawes from iniquitie all that unfeinedly incall thy name. There ar sevin yeares past, sen a scrole, send from a Jesuite to his Brother,[1] was presented unto me be a faithfull brother, requyring sum Answer to be maid to the same; whais just petitioun, I, willing to obey, I pat my hand to the pen, althogh I fand small tyme of quyetnes; for it was immediatly efter that I was called back from exyle, be the Kirk of Edinburgh, after David's judgement.[2] Amongs my other caires, I scriblit that which followis, and that in few dayis; which being finished, I repented of my laubour, and purposed fullie to have suppressed

[1] David Tyrie of Drumkilbo. See p. 476, note 1.

[2] The death of David Rizzio, at Edinburgh, on the 9th March 1565-6.

it. Which, na dout, I had done, if that the Devil had not steirit up the Jesuites,[1] of purpois to trouble godlie harts, with the same argumentis which Tyrie usis, amplifyed and set furth, with all the dog eloquence that Sathan can devyse for suppressing of the free progres of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and for the cuiring of that woundit head of the Beast, that Romane Antichrist, who shall to distruction in despyte of all those that studie either to erect, or yet to manteane him and his dampnable abusis: which God hes disclosit to sic as the Devill hes not blinded so that they can not discerne betuix darknes and light. The ordour that is keped in answering of his proud arrogancie and presumpteous foolishenes, the entres of the treatise will declare.

I have added unto this Preface a meditatioun or prayer, thrawin furth of my sorrowful heart, and pronounced be my half dead toung, befoir I was compelled to leave my flocke of Edinburgh, who now ar dispersed, suffering lytill les calamitie then did the faithfull efter the persecutioun of Steaphen. Lord, comfort and strenthen thame to the end, that anes we may meit in glorie; for all worldly meiting is bot vane, and an occasioun of new dolour. Call for me, deir Brethren, that God in his mercy will pleis to put end to my long and panefull battell: For now being unabill to feght, as God sumtymes gave strenth, I thrust an end befoir I be moir troubilsum to the Faithfull. And yet, Lord, let my desyre be moderat be thy Holy Spirit, and give me patience to beir whatsoever it pleises thy godlie Majestie to lay upon this my wicked carkase.

[1] The Order of the Society of Jesus at that time was recently instituted, and had already begun to develope the sophistries, with which the Jesuits have always veiled their proceedings, under an appearance of moderation.—(Part of note in vol. of British Reformers.)

THE PRAYER.

Lord Jesus, receave my spirite, and put an end, at thy gude pleasure, to this my miserable lyfe; for justice and treuth ar not to be found amonges the sonnes of men!

JOHNE KNOX, with deliberat mynd, to his God.

Be mercyfull unto me, O Lord, and call not into judgement my manyfold sinnis; and cheiflie those, whereof the warld is not able to accuse me. In youth, myd age, and now, after many battelles, I find nothing into me bot vanitie and corruption. For, in quyetnes I am negligent, in trouble impatient, tending to disperation; and in the meane state, I am so caryed away with vane fantaseis, that, (allace), O Lord, they withdraw me from the presence of thy Majestie. Pryde and ambitioun assault me on the ane part, covetousnes and malice trouble me on the other: breifly, O Lord, the affectionis of the fleshe do almoste suppres the operatioun of thy Spirite. I tak thee, O Lord (who only knowes the secreitis of hearts) to record, that in nane of the foirsaid I do delyte; bot that with them I am troubled, and that soir aganis the desyre of my inward man, which sobbis for my corruption, and wold repose in thy mercy alone. To the which I clame, and that in the promise that thow hes maid to all penitent sinneris (of whose number I profes myself to be one) in the obedience and death of my only Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ. In whome, be thy meare grace, I dout not myself to be electit to eternall salvatioun, whereof thow hes gevin unto me (unto me, O Lord, most wretched and unthankfull creature) most assured signes. For being drowned in ignorance, thow hes gevin to me knawledge above the commoun sort of my brethren; my toung hes thow usit to set furth thy glorie, to oppung idolatrie, errouris, and fals doctrine. Thow hes compelled me to foirspeak, aswell

delyveraunce to the afflicted, as distructioun to certane inobedient; the performance whereof, not I alone, bot the verray blind world hes alreddy sene. But above all, O Lord, thow, be the power of thy Holy Spirite, hes sealed into my heart remission of my sinnes, which I acknawledge and confes my self to have receaved be the precious bloode of Jesus Christ ones shed; be whose perfyte obedience I am assured my manyfould rebellionis ar defaced, my grevous sinnes purged, and my saule maid the tabernackle of thy godlie Majestie. Thow, O Father of mercyes, thy Sone our Lord Jesus, my only Saviour, Mediator, and Advocate, and thy Holy Spirite, remaning in the same be trew faith; which is the only victorie that overcummeth the world.

To thee, therefoir, O Lord, I commend my spirite; for I thrist to be resolved from this body of sin, and am assured that I sall rise agane in glorie, howsoever it be that the wicked, for a tyme, sall trode me, and others thy servandes, under their feit. Be mercyfull, O Lord, unto the Kirk within this Realme; continew with it the light of thy Evangell; augment the number of trew preicheris; and let thy mercyfull provydence luik upon my desolate bedfellow, the frute of hir bosome, and my two deir children, Nathanael and Eleezer.[1] Now, Lord, put end to my miserie!

At Edinburgh, the 12. of Marche, 1565.[2]

[1] "Tyrie, in his Reply," says Dr. M'Crie, "scoffs at the expression of Knox's pious affection for his family;" where he remarks, "Because I know his great occupationis and sollicitude he has of his wyf and childrene, that he could not tak tent to sic trifflis, I will pas this with silence," &c.

[2] That is the 12th of March 1565-6.

AN ANSWER TO A LETTER OF A JESUIT, NAMED TYRIE, BE JOHNE KNOX.

Of leat dayis there came to our hands a Letter, direct unto yow, right worshipfull, from JAMES TYRIE, who styleth him self your humble servitour and brother. The beginning wherof shaweth the care that he beiris of your salvatioun, his cheritie that hes moved him so oft to wryte unto yow, and thairwith covertley he accuses yow, that he hes receaved no answer of his former, and yet that the same cheritie moveth him stil to continew in his former sute. In the progres of the said letter he planely furthshawis what is his scope and purpois; to wit, to alienat your mynd from the treuth of God, now of Goddis greit mercy, efter long darknes, offered to this Realme. The purpois, as we suppone, wherefore ye send the same letter unto us, is that we may give solutionis to thay thingis that he objectis aganis the treuth. Which to do wer not verray hard, provydit that his dytement wer sensible, and his argumentis formall, and propir to that which he wald perswade. But becaus, in wryting, he appeareth to us rather scabrushly to have translatit that which he wrytis furth of Latine, or of sum other forane toung, then frely to haif expressit his awin mynd; and becaus that his argumentis ar not onlie impertinent, but also sa generall that in na wyse they conclude that which he wold prove,—our answeres must exceid the measure of a missive; and yet we sall avoide, sa far as we can, all unprofitabil prolixitie. But leist that any suld thinke that we deprave either his dytement or argumentis, we shal insert his hole letter, from parcell to parcell, and give answer to sic headis as either ar blaspheamous aganis the treuth of God, or yet may be offensive to the waik conscience of men. In other thingis we sall not be curious. His letter thus beginnis:—

TYRIE'S LETTER.

Schir, Efter hartly commendatioun, of service, and prayeris, that I have writtin sa oft afoir (we keip his awin wordis and ortographie), it come of my cheritie, that I aucht to yow, for sindrie ressounis, and of the solicitude that cheritie causit me to have of the eternal salvation of your saule, desyrand be your answer to have knawin your mynd in that behalf; quhilk, sen I have not obtenit as yit, I have thocht, haifand opportunitie of this beirer, to wryte this wryting amangis the rest, and to exhort yow thairby, that ye wald ernistly (as it becummis ane man to quhome God hes gevin sa mony giftis and talentis) and rypely considder be quhat way ye mon cum to that end, to the quhilk God hes creatit and redemit you.

ANSWER.

To this long preface we only answer this :—That if the Scribes and Pharesies, who compassed sea and land to mak a proselyt, gat a curse by the mouth of our maister, Jesus Christ,[1] notwithstanding all their appeirand zeale and panefull travell ; who can dout bot that sic as studie to draw back agane to superstitioun and idolatrie sic as God hes called from the same, shall receave a dowble maledictioun, under what pretence that ever they do it ? For, if thay, who brought Ethnickis and manifest Idolatouris to sum religioun, were accursed, how muche moir ar they detestable, that travell to bring men from a trew religioun to the deapest idolatrie that ever yet was upon the face of the earth ? Which long hes bene manteyned in the Papistical Kirk, whereto we persave the wryter of the letter wold entyse yow, as his subsequent perswasionis manifestly declaireth. For thus he wryteth :—

TYRIE'S LETTER.

Quhilk appeiris to me to be the only faith and religioun keipit in the Catholick Kirk of Christ sen the beginning thairof. Quhilk appeiris cleirly, be the maist plane wordis of the Propheit Isai, quhair he speikis of the Kirk, *Gens et Regnum quod non servierit tibi, peribit.*

Quhilk words, gif ony wald apply to thair new found kirkis, and specially to your invisibil Kirk of Scotland (bot yit aucht yeir auld), he is convictit. For it is manifest, that befoir a thousand yeiris in all the warld was thair pepill that trowit as thai do quha defendis the contrarie, quhilk na man bot he that wald schaw his impudence and his ignorance togidder dar deny : and of the Kirk quhairof the Propheit speikis, it is said be him, in the secund chapter, that it sal be manifest and visibl throw all the warld. Quhairfoir, gif ye can not schaw quhat place of the warld afoir thre hundreth yeir your Kirk was into, it followis of necessitie, that it is na Kirk, &c. Thus far of his letter.

ANSWER.

The first part of his counsall we approve, and adde thereto, that the lyfe everlasting consistes in the knowledge of the onlie trew God, and in the knowledge of him whome he hes send, Jesus Christ.[2] That he that belevis in the Sone of God hes lyfe everlasting, and is alreddy past from deith to lyfe; bot he that belevis not, sall not se lyfe, but the wraith of God abydes upon him.[3] We further affirme, that without the societie and bosome of the trew Kirk, never was, is, nor salbe, salvatioun unto man. In thir and lyke generall heidis we disagre not from the Papistis ; but the difference and dout standis in the speciallis, to wit, what Faith is, and what ground it hes ; what is Religioun, and wherein it differis from superstitioun and from idolatrie :[4]

[1] Matt. 23. [2] Ioan. 17. [3] Ioan 5. [4] The heidis of difference betuix the trew worschipperis of God and the Papistis.—(Marginal note.)

and finallie, what is the trew Kirk, and how it may be decerned from the sinagoge of Sathan. Thir heades, we say, ought he in special to have intreted unto yow, if he had bene mynded to have instructed yow in a treuth. But becaus (as the progres of his letters declareth), his mynd was to draw yow to the bondage of that Romane Antechrist, he takis generall propositionis, moste trew and most certane in themselves, whereupon he wold conclude that which is most fals and altogether pernitius to the salvatioun of man. To let the craft of Sathan moir evidently appear, we shall draw his perswasioun in forme of argument, and after returne to the farther meaning of the Propheit, and to the declaratioun of thir termis, Faith, Religioun, and Catholick Kirk.

Major.—The Propheit affirmes, that whosoever sall not serve Jerusalem, shall perishe.

Minor.—But the promeis maid to Jerusalem appertenis unto the Kirk.

Conclusion.—Ergo, whosoever servis not the Kirk, sall perishe.

This hole argument we admit, and most constantlie we do affirme it; and yet sall he never be able to prove his intent, which is, that the Kirk of Scotland is no Kirk. We will oppin the wound which the wryter of the letter keapis coverit, and yet it most grevis him, as it doeth the rest of al Papistis.[1] The Realme of Scotland (all praise to God) hes refused the Pape, that Romane Antichrist; and not only be preaching, bot also be the publict lawes, hes dampned his tyrannicall lawes, his odious superstitiounis, and usurped jurisdiction. And therefoir cry the Papistis, that we ar declyned from the trew Kirk, and ar fallen back from the Catholick faith. But befoir that they be able to convict us of those crimes, they mon preif two thinges.[2] Former, that whatsoever was promysed to Jerusalem dois properly and only appertene unto Rome; and this mon thay do, not be conjectures, but be plane wordis, as God pronounced be his Prophet of Jerusalem. This is the first. The secund is, that albeit Rome wer as able to prove a promise maid to it, as Jerusalem was, of whome it was said,—This is my rest; heare will I dwell, becaus I have chosin it; and albeit that the Papis of Rome, whome he styles the perpetuall successioun of that Kirk, had as an assured and plane probation, that be God they wer called, be God they wer admitted, and that be God they suld be manteyned in their ministerie and functioun, as that the Levites and successioun of Aaron had to produce at all tymes for their defence; yet if they, (we say,) who cal themselves the successouris of the Apostlis, be not able to prove, that they have constantlie remaned in the first league and covenant which Christ Jesus maid with his Apostlis, when he send them furth to preache the glaid tydingis of the kingdome, and to establishe his throne, not only amonges the Jewis,

[1] Why the Pape and Papistes hate the Kirk of Scotland.

[2] What Papistes must prove befoir they be able to convict us, or any other natioun, of apostasie from the Kirk and trew faith.—(Marginal notes.)

bot also amonges the Gentiles, according to the former propheseis: Albeit, we say, that all thir former thay wer abil to prove (as they ar never able to do), yet have they said nothing that may help their caus, nor hurt ouris, onles that they thairwith planely prove that the Kirk of Rome, and the successioun of the same, hes remanit and yet remaneth in the original puritie of the Apostlis, in doctrine, lyfe, lawes, and ceremonies. For thir being corrupted, the tytill of successioun will na mair help them then did the braging of the preistis under the law, who cryit aganis the Propheit Jeremie—"the Temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord." What was answered unto them, let the 7. chapter of his Prophesie witnes.[1] But farther, of the successioun, and of the assurance thairof, efter.

Now mon we sumthing speak of Faith, Religioun, and the Catholick Kirk, whairwith he wold terrifie your conscience and deface the treuth; and then mon we answere to his blaspheamous tauntis and mockage. Befoir we have confessit, that to leve without Faith, without Religion, and without the societie of the Catholic Kirk, bringis with it most certanely death and dampnation. But yet, we affirme, that all opinion that is commonly receaved under the name of faith, is not faith which God approvis; bot trew faith mon have for the ground and assurance thereof Godis expressed word, of his mercy, promysed in Christ Jesus, whereto the heart of the faithful mon consent, so moved be the Haly Gaist. And therefor we fear not to affirme, that the Papistis, having no better ground for thair faith then consent of men, decreis of counsallis, and antiquitie of tyme, have no faith, bot a fonde, yea, a dampnable opinion.[2] And the same we affirme of Religioun, whiche, if it be pleasing and acceptable unto God, must have his awin commandement and approbatioun for a warrand;[3] otherwise it can not be bot odious in his presence, as a thing repugning to his expres commandement, saying, not that which appearis good in thy awin eyis sall thow do to the Lord thy God, bot what the Lord thy God hes commanded thee, that do thow: adde nothing to it, diminishe nothing from it.[4] Be this precept of that Eternall God, who is immutable, and that can command nothing but that which is just, ar all people, realmes, and natiounis, (that will avow themselves to be the inheritance of the Lord,) bound and oblist to measure thair religioun, not be the exemple of other realmes, neyther yet be their owen good intentioun, or determinatioun of men, but only be the expressed word of God.[5] So that what therein is commanded, aucht to be done be the people of God, what apperance or externall shaw of holynes that ever it hes. And, thairfoir, have we most justly rejected the rable of ceremoneis which the Papistis held for the cheif exercise of their religioun, as thingis having na better ground then the invention and consent of men.

[1] Jerem. 7.
[2] What ground faith hath.—(Marg. notes.)
[3] The warrand of religioun.
[4] Deut. 4 & 12.
[5] Nota.

Now shortlie, of the Kirk commounlie callit Catholick. The name of the Kirk is commoun, and is taken aswell for the congregation of the wicked, as for the assemblie of the godlie; as it is plane be ye wordes of David, saying, "I have hated the kirk, or the assemblie of the wicked."[1] The terme Catholick, which signifyis Universall, hes not included in it that vertew which Papistes alledge, that is, that whatsoever is Catholick, that it must be gude. For if it so wer, then sin in the originall world shuld have bene gude, for it was so Catholick (that is, universall) that it overflowed the hole earth, only one hous excepted. How universall idolatrie was amongis the Gentiles, historeis witnesse; and how braid the pestilent sects of Machomet is this day spred, experience dois teach us. And yet we suppone, that no man of right judgement will either approve the one or the other, notwithstanding of their universalitie; and, therefore, we must have a better assurance of that Kirk, to which we aucht to joyne our selfis, then that it is Catholick or universall: to wit, it must be holy, and the communioun of sanctis; for in the Confessioun of our Faith, we say not, I beleve the Kirk universal, bot, "I beleve the holy Kirk universall, the communion of sanctis." Wherefoir we affirme, that if that Kirk, whiche is called Catholick or universall, have not holynes in the heart be trew faith, and the confessioun of the same in the mouth, and in the foirhead, it ceisis to be the immaculate spous of Jesus Christ, in whose bosome the sonnes of God ar nurished to the lyfe everlasting. And so befoir that the wryter of the letter shalbe able to convict us, that we have declyned from the holy Kirk, he must first defyne what is the verray holynes of the Kirk, wherein it consistis, fra whome it flowis, and what is the effect of the same. And when thus he hes done, he must prove that the Kirk of Rome hes bene and is, only holy, so that no kirk befoir it did ever enjoy that tytill, nether yet that any that after may ensew it, may sa be justlie callit; and thus we think salbe verray hard to Maister Tyrie and all the Jesuites in Europe to prove.

Bot now, that the vanitie of his argument may the moir evidentlie appeare, we wil, in as few wordis as we can, examine the mynd of the Prophet. Sic as diligently markis the scope of the Propheit Isaias, sall cleirly se, that from the 40th chapter of his Prophesie, to the end of the same, he travellis principally to comfort Jerusalem, and the natioun of the Jewis, whose miserable distruction and fearefull captivitie he foresaw in spreit, [he] pronunced the same in his publict sermonis, and left the memoriall and undoubted register therof to the posteritie that was to follow, and was to be partakeris of all the plaigues that wer befoir spoken. And least that they, in the myddis of thair calamitie suld have disparit of any delyverance, from the same 40th chapter back, we say that the Prophet as the Messinger of Godis mercy pronounceth to Jerusalem, to Mont Syon, and to the afflicted Jewis, delyverance

[1] Psal. 26.

[illegible] the protection of God to be their defence, the distruc-[illegible] of [illegible], and of all their enemeis; the coming of the Messias [illegible] them the felicitie of his kingdome, the vocation of the [illegible] and finally, the promyses flowing from mercy, that he had [illegible] them to continew for ever. And among their manyfold [illegible] this was one. "The kingdome and the natioun that sall not [illegible] thee, sall perishe."

Now [illegible] wald we learne of the wryter, to what realme, to what [illegible] to what province or cietie will he appoint us, that therein we [illegible] Jesus Christ, and his immaculate spous, the Kirk, to the [illegible] that we shal not perishe. If he will name Rome, and the Kirk [illegible] then must we demand two thinges: the former, What be-[illegible] the faithfull the space of a thousand yeares that flowed [illegible] the making of the former promyses and the dayis of the Apos-[illegible] what tyme the Evangel began publictly to be offered unto the [illegible] All whiche tyme Rome was nothing bot a den of idola-[illegible] We think he will not say that the faithfull perished; and we ar [illegible] that the faithfull served not Rome, nether yet the Kirk [illegible] all that tyme. This is the first whereof we wold be [illegible] The second is that if the wryter will alledge that during [illegible] the promise [illegible] apperteaned to Jerusalem and unto Mount Syon, but that after the ascention of Jesus Christ, and after that the Evangell was receaved of the Gentiles, the promise, which be-[illegible] was maid to Jerusalem was transferred unto Rome: if so be, we [illegible] the wryter, that efter he hes consulted with the fynest Papistes, [illegible] Jesuites, or be they others, that he wil shaw unto us where we [illegible] the resignation and the assurance thereof. We clearly read [illegible] promises maid to Jerusalem and unto Mount Syon. We find that [illegible] Evangell was there preached in dispyte of Sathan. We find that [illegible] Peter and Johne wer send to Samarea, and therefter the [illegible] was planted amonges the Gentiles. We find further, that Paule [illegible] the sanctes that wer at Rome, and that he himself was caryit [illegible] and that he remanit two years there under custodie in [illegible] but that ever the promises maid to Jerusalem were trans-[illegible] Rome, we find not. And, therefoir, albeit that we of the [illegible] of Scotland have refused Rome and the tyrranie thereof, we [illegible] that we have refused the societie of Christis Kirk;[2] but that [illegible] with it, and daylie ar fed of our mother's breastes, because [illegible] other doctrine then that which first flowed furth of [illegible] whose cietizenes be grace we avow our selves to be.

[illegible] to the taunting blaspheamies of the wryter. It pleisis him to [illegible] Kirkis new found, invisible, yet but aucht yeare auld, &c., and [illegible] newly invented. Which blaspheamies, albeit that man spair, [illegible] the Eternall, our God, sall not suffer unpunished in

[illegible] [2] Note, and answer directlie.—(Marginal notes.)

this lyfe, and in the lyfe to cum, onles that speadie and unfeaned repentance blot away the same.

But the wryter left to the judgement of God, we wolde knowe of him why he calleth our Kirkis new found, and our Evangel but new invented.[1] He appeareth to give his reasone in these wordes (for sayis he) "it is manifest, that befoir a thousand yeares in all the worlde was there peple that trowit as thay do quha defendis the contrare."

This reasone conteyneth in it sic foly, besydes the obscuritie and generalitie of it, that we stand in dout at what member we shall begin to confute the same.[2] But becaus his greatest strength appeareth to stand in this—that befoir a thousand yeares, there was people in all the worlde that beleved otherwise then we beleve; to that heid we will first answer, and say, that granted, that befoir a thousand yeares, there was people in all the worlde that trowed as Papistes now trow, what shall thereof yet be concluded, that our Kirkis ar new found? And will he say, that our Evangell is but newly invented? A good dialectisiane wolde answer, that albeit the antecedent wer granted, the consequent may justlie be denyed. And the reasone is, becaus that nether doeth the Kirk, the faith of the same, nor the authoritie of the Evangell of Christ Jesus, depend upon that which men beleved befoir that it was published. Nether yet is the age of the Kirk to be compted from the time when it pleased God of his mercy, either to reveale his word to any realme or natioun that befoir was ignorant of it, or yet to reforme abuses whiche have taken roote amonges the people of God be the negligence of men. And that this reasone and propositioun is trew, the consideratioun of the planting of the Kirk, and of the divers reformatiounis maid within the same, shall witnes.

When God called Abraham from Ur of the Chaldeanes,[3] and maid to him the promise of the blissed sead, and after gave unto him the signe of circumcision; wer there not people dispersed universally upon the face of the earth, wha trowit and thoght that they had a goode and perfite religioun, yea, evin that same religion (as they supposed) wherein Noha served God? And yet we knowe that the spirite of God dampneth the multitude of that age of idolatrie, and thereintill magnifies the mercy of God, who from that corrupted multitude called Abraham, and be grace maid him the father of the faithfull. Now wold we demand of the wryter of the letter, if the age of Abrahames faith should have bene measured from the errour of the multitude that past befoir him? and if that the age of the Kirk gadderit within his hous shoulde have bene called an aucht yeare auld kirk, when that Abraham had so long obeyed God, while that all the world continewed in their idolatrie? We demand, (we say,) if their auld idolatrie maid Abraham's faith to be but a new found faith; and if their multitude and universalitie having for them antiquitie, maid the kirk

[1] Tyrie's reasone. [2] Answer. [3] Gen. 12.—(Marginal notes.)

from captivitie, the protection of God to be their defence, the distructioun of Babilone, and of all their enemeis; the coming of the Messias promysed unto them the felicitie of his kingdome, the vocation of the Gentiles; and finally, the promyses flowing from mercy, that he had maid unto them to continew for ever. And among their manyfold promysis, this was one, "The kingdome and the natioun that sall not serve thee, sall perishe."

Now, gladly wald we learne of the wryter, to what realme, to what nation, to what province or cietie will he appoint us, that therein we may serve Jesus Christ, and his immaculate spous, the Kirk, to the end that we shal not perishe. If he will name Rome, and the Kirk thereof, then must we demand two thinges: the former, What became of all the faithfull the space of a thousand yeares that flowed betuix the making of the former promyses and the dayis of the Apostilis, what tyme the Evangel began publictly to be offered unto the Gentiles;[1] All whiche tyme Rome was nothing bot a den of idolatrie. We think he will not say that the faithfull perished; and we ar bauld to say, that the faithfull served not Rome, nether yet the Kirk contenit thairin all that tyme. This is the first whereof we wold be resolved. The secund is, that if the wryter will alledge that during all the tyme the promise foirsaid apperteaned to Jerusalem and unto Mount Syon; but that after the ascention of Jesus Christ, and after that the Evangell was receaved of the Gentiles, the promise, which befoir was maid to Jerusalem was transferred unto Rome: if so be, we pray the wryter, that efter he hes consulted with the fynest Papistes, be they Jesuites, or be they others, that he wil shaw unto us where we shall find the resignation and the assurance thereof. We clearly read the promises maid to Jerusalem and unto Mount Syon. We find that the Evangell was there preached in dispyte of Sathan. We find that from thence Peter and Johne wer send to Samarea, and therefter the Evangell was planted amonges the Gentiles. We find further, that Paule wrote to the sanctes that wer at Rome, and that he himself was caryit presoner to it, and that he remanit two years there under custodie in his ludgeing: bot that ever the promises maid to Jerusalem were transferred unto Rome, we find not. And, therefoir, albeit that we of the Realme of Scotland have refused Rome and the tyrranie thereof, we think not that we have refused the societie of Christis Kirk;[2] but that we ar joynit with it, and daylie ar fed of our mother's breastes, because we imbrase no other doctrine then that which first flowed furth of Jerusalem, whose cietizenes be grace we avow our selves to be.

But now to the taunting blaspheamies of the wryter. It pleisis him to terme our Kirkis new found, invisible, yet but aucht yeare auld, &c., and our Evangell newly invented. Which blaspheamies, albeit that man spair, yet we are assured the Eternall, our God, sall not suffer unpunished in

[1] Answer Papistes. [2] Note, and answer directlie.—(Marginal notes.)

this lyfe, and in the lyfe to cum, onles that speadie and unfeaned repentance blot away the same.

But the wryter left to the judgement of God, we wolde knowe of him why he calleth our Kirkis new found, and our Evangel but new invented.[1] He appeareth to give his reasone in these wordes (for sayis he) "it is manifest, that befoir a thousand yeares in all the worlde was there peple that trowit as thay do quha defendis the contrare."

This reasone conteyneth in it sic foly, besydes the obscuritie and generalitie of it, that we stand in dout at what member we shall begin to confute the same.[2] But becaus his greatest strength appeareth to stand in this—that befoir a thousand yeares, there was people in all the worlde that beleved otherwise then we beleve; to that heid we will first answer, and say, that granted, that befoir a thousand yeares, there was people in all the worlde that trowed as Papistes now trow, what shall thereof yet be concluded, that our Kirkis ar new found? And will he say, that our Evangell is but newly invented? A good dialectisiane wolde answer, that albeit the antecedent wer granted, the consequent may justlie be denyed. And the reasone is, becaus that nether doeth the Kirk, the faith of the same, nor the authoritie of the Evangell of Christ Jesus, depend upon that which men beleved befoir that it was published. Nether yet is the age of the Kirk to be compted from the time when it pleased God of his mercy, either to reveale his word to any realme or natioun that befoir was ignorant of it, or yet to reforme abuses whiche have taken roote amonges the people of God be the negligence of men. And that this reasone and propositioun is trew, the consideratioun of the planting of the Kirk, and of the divers reformatiounis maid within the same, shall witnes.

When God called Abraham from Ur of the Chaldeanes,[3] and maid to him the promise of the blissed sead, and after gave unto him the signe of circumcision; wer there not people dispersed universally upon the face of the earth, wha trowit and thoght that they had a goode and perfite religioun, yea, evin that same religion (as they supposed) wherein Noha served God? And yet we knowe that the spirite of God dampneth the multitude of that age of idolatrie, and thereintill magnifies the mercy of God, who from that corrupted multitude called Abraham, and be grace maid him the father of the faithfull. Now wold we demand of the wryter of the letter, if the age of Abrahames faith should have bene measured from the errour of the multitude that past befoir him? and if that the age of the Kirk gadderit within his hous shoulde have bene called an aucht yeare auld kirk, when that Abraham had so long obeyed God, while that all the world continewed in their idolatrie? We demand, (we say,) if their auld idolatrie maid Abraham's faith to be but a new found faith; and if their multitude and universalitie having for them antiquitie, maid the kirk

[1] Tyrie's reasone. [2] Answer. [3] Gen. 12.—(Marginal notes.)

that was in Abrahames hous to be a new found kirk? We suppose that men of judgement shal otherwise pronunce and subscrive with us, that the faith of Abraham had the same antiquitie that the word had which he beleved. Now plane it is, that the word which he beleved was the self same word which God pronunced unto the woman in the gardine, speaking aganis the serpent, saying, "I shall put inimitie betuix thee and the woman, betuix thy sead and hir sead, that sead shal beak doun thy head, and thow shall break doun his heale."[1] This promise, we say, being especiallie maid to Abraham, in these wordes—"In thy sead shall all the natiounis of the earth be blissed," was the ground of his faith, lyke as that it was the ground of the faith of Adam; Abell; Seth; and of all the faithfull befoir him: so that his faith was no new faith, bot was that same faith whiche had continued amonges Godis elect from the beginning. For trew faith may not be measured from the errour of men, bot from the word and promise which the faithfull beleve. Is the word from the beginning, and the promise undoubted? then must the faith that thereupon is grounded, not onlie be trew, but also of the same age and antiquitie that the worde is. And therefore, whensoever the Papistes and we shall cum to reaken of the age of our faith, we dout nothing but that their faith, in mo principall pointis nor one or two, shalbe found verray young, and but lately invented, in respect of that only trew faith which this day in the Kirks of Scotland is professed. And the self same thing affirme we of our Kirk, and of the Evangell preached within the same; to wit, that the Evangell which of Godis mercy is revealed unto us, is not forged be man, but that it is the self same Evangel which Jesus Christ taught be his awin mouth, and that his Apostlis, at his commandement published unto the world. And therefore we say, that our Kirk is no new found Kirk, (as the wryter blaspheamously rayleth,) but that it is a part of that holy Kirk universall, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the Prophetes and Apostlis; having the same antiquitie that the Kirk of the Apostles hes, as concerning doctrine, prayers, administratioun of sacramentis, and all other thinges requisite to a particulare Kirk.

But yet will the wryter of the letter alledge, that we beleve not as the moste part of men have beleved a thousand yeares and moir: for they beleved the Messe to be a Sacrifice propiciatorie for the sinnes of the quick and the dead; the Pape to be the head of the Kirk, and Christes vicar in the earth; the materiall[2] body of Christ Jesus, flesche, blood, and bane, to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, after that the wordis of consecration wer pronunced be a preast; *Super materia debita:* that the prayers of the leving profite departed, and sic others as the Catholick faith of the Papistes have concluded:

These Articles, will the wryter say, we beleve not; and therefoir how can it be denyed but that our Kirk is new found, and the doctrine

[1] Gen. 3. [2] "Materiall:" in some copies corrected to "naturall."

therof is new? We have answered, and yet we answere agane, that whatsoever Papistes have beleved befoir us, whiche hath no better ground then that determination of thair owen counsall, can nether prejudge our faith grounded upon Godis expressed worde, nether yet can prove our Kirk to be but a new found Kirk. For if ane commoun errour, and a superstitious worshipping of God, receaved of a multitude, should have that strength, that it should prevale against God's simple treuth, and against his worshipping prescrived in his word, then had the Propheit Helias bene into a miserable condition: who being but one man opponed him self to the King, to his Counsall, to his Prophetes, Preastes, and people, and in plane wordes accused thame all of apostasie from God, from his trew worshipping, and from the obedience of his law, and planely convicted them to be idolatoures, becaus they had imbrased a worshipping of God not conteyned in his word. It is a wonder that the king with his preastes and propheites excepted not against the Propheit, and said, how can that be idolatrie, which our kingis and people sence the dayis of Jeroboam, have used and manteyned for God's trew service? Thow art but one man, and we ar a multitude; how can it be that we all should erre, and that thow alone should please God? But no such thing find we objected unto the Propheit. But his requeast, being but one man, was obeyed; quhilk was, that God himself should judge betuix him and them, as that he did be fyre from heaven.

This priviledge crave we to be granted to us of the Papistes in our days; to wit, that they suffer God to judge betuix our religioun and theirs. What he approveth, let it be approven of bothe; and what be him is not commanded, nor be the Apostles of Jesus Christ established and practised, let it be of bothe rejected, and so shall we suddanelie aggre. But if that they will still cry that we ar schismatykes and apostates, because we refuse to defyle ourselves with their abhominationis, we can not but appeale from their corrupt sentence to the uncorrupt Judge, of whose favoures we are assuredly perswaded in that point, becaus he hath said, Follow not the multitude in evill doing; and becaus that we find Kingis, Propheites, and people befoir us, to have done the self same thing in their days, (and therefore to have bene approved of God), whiche we in God's feare have done in our dayis: To wit, they have destroyed the monumentis of idolatrie, and have repressed the same externally be power and force, notwithstanding the antiquitie thereof, and that great multitudes adheared unto it. And this muche for the multitude, and that which the multitude moste commonly beleveth. Now to the further ressounis of the wryter.

He first tauntis and mockis us, and our Kirk, calling it your invisible Kirk of Scotland. Secundly, he affirmeth that the Kirk wherof the Prophet speakes shalbe manifest and visible through all the world: and for his profe, alledges the secund chapter of the Prophet Isai. And

last, he concludes, in these wordes: "Wherefore, if ye can not shaw in what place of the world, afoir thre hundreth yeare, your Kirk was into, it followeth of necessitie that it is no Kirk."

To these headis we must answer in ordour: And first, we will pray the wryter, in his nixt answer, to signifie unto us, why he calleth the Kirk of Scotland invisible, seing that the ground and the persones inhabitant within the same, ar subject to the senses of all those that list to looke upone them. Yea, the doctrine taught unto us is so patent, that the verray enemies themselves ar not forbidden to heare and to judge of it. And finally, the administration of the Sacramentes within our kirkis are so publict, that none justly can compleane, that they are either debarred from hearing or from sight. And therefore, howsoever it pleaseth the wryter to delite himself in his owen vanitie, we feare not to affirme, that the Kirk of God, within Scotland this day is as visible as ever it was in Jerusalem, after that Christ Jesus ascended to the heavenes, or as that it was visible in Samarea after that it receaved the Evangell. Yea, we will further affirme, that the trew Kirk of Jesus Christ is as visible, yea, and as beutifull in all her proper ornamentes this day, within the Realme of Scotland, as ever she was in Corinthus, Galacia, Philipi (yea, or yet in Rome it self), what time that any of the Apostles rewled them, or that when they wer saluted be the Apostle in his Epistles for Kirkis: and this for the first head.

The answer to the secund can not be so short; for his assertion aggreis so lytle with the place of the Propheit, that we stand greatly in dout whether that ever the wryter hes travelled to understand the mynd of the Prophet. His assertion is this:—"Of the Kirk whereof the Propheit speaketh, It is said be him, in the secund chapter that it shalbe manifest and visible through all the world." The wordes of the Propheit are these: "It shalbe in the last dayes, that the montane of the hous of the Lord shalbe prepared in the tope of the mountanes, and shal be exalted above the hilles, and all nationes shall flow unto it. And many people shal go and say, Cum, let us go up unto the montane of the Lord, to the hous of the God of Jacob, and he will teache us his wayes, and we will walk in his pathes. For the law shall go furth of Syon, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem; and he shall judge among the nationes, and rebuke many people,"[1] &c. In these wordes of the Prophet we find no such thing as the Kirk shalbe manifest and visible through all the worlde. We acknawledge a promise of glade thinges to cum, to be joyned to Jerusalem, and unto Mont Syon, after the miserable destruction of the same. We find the time appointed, to wit, the last dayes. But that the promise may be the better tryed, we must know of the wryter, when these last dayis began; and when they shalbe compleit?[2] We must further know, if there be any one certane place appointed, in the which

[1] Isai. 2. [2] Question of the last days.

it is said, that the Kirk of God shalbe visible and manifest in all ages? These two heades being considered, it shalbe moir easie to judge of the assertioun of the wryter, and how it aggreis with the mynd of the Prophet.

And first, we think that the wryter will not deny, but the last dayes, whereof the Prophet speakes, began long befoir that ever the Evangell of Jesus Christ was knowen or publictlie receaved in Rome;[1] to wit, at the appearing of Jesus Christ in the fleshe, when that he revealed unto the worlde the hole will of his Father. For so are we taught be the Apostle, saying, "God in auld tymes spake unto our fatheres in divers maners be the prophetes; in the last dayis he hath spoken to us be his sone,"[2] &c. And the Apostle Peter, in that his moste notable sermone made to Jerusalem, the day of Pentecost, affirmes, that the prophesie of Joell, made as concerning the pouring furth of God's graces upon all fleshe in the laste dayes, was even then compleit, when that the Holy Spreit discended doun upon those that beleved.[3] So then, we have gotten the last dayes to have begun with Jesus Christ, who is the glorie of the secund temple. When think we that they ended? If the wryter will say, when Rome receaved the Evangel, then was the accomplishment of the last dayes; as men justly may dout therof, so will the Apostle planelie deny, saying; "The Spreit speaketh evidentlie, that in the last tymes some shall depart from the faith,"[4] &c. Whereof we may gather, that the Apostle appointeth the last tymes to continew longer then that the Evangell was ones publictly preached; to wit, till that men should begin to fall from the faith, and give eares to the doctrine of devilles. Yea, if ye will searche the Scriptures, we shall find that the last dayes continew from the first appearing of Jesus Christ in fleshe, unto his last returning unto judgement. So that the last dayes do not onely include the first publicatioun of the Evangell, but also the defectioun from it; yea, and the restitution of it agane unto the world, be the brightnes whereof, that man of sin should be revealed and distroyed. Whereof we conclude, that if the last dayes do yet continew, whereof the Prophet maketh mention, the thinges promysed to be performed in them are not yet altogether compleit, but are in their progres, and shall so procead till that all be finished that is foirspoken be the holie Prophetes and Apostles of Jesus Christ. And so may Jesus Christ this day be working in Scotland, albeit that Papistes rage against his Evangell, as in those dayes he wroght in Jerusalem, when the preastes and the hole visible Kirk, (for the moste part,) raged against the same. But now to the secund head.

We wold knowe, if the wryter can appoint unto us any one certane place wher this holy montane of God is promysed to remane, manifestly and visiblie. For this we mak knowen to the hole world, that for the lufe we beare to the buylding and reparing of Godd's holy hous, we

[1] Nota. [2] Heb. 1. [3] Act. 2. [4] 1 Tim. 4. 1. [5] Nota.

have endangered life and all thinges temporal: and, therefore, if the wryter can appoint unto us a certane place whereunto God hes maid promise, we shall everie one exhort another, with all diligence, to go up thereunto. But if he can appoint none, having greater assurance be Godes mouth, moir then an other, then will we cheritabillie desyre him to desist from taunting and mockage of so notable workes of God, as he of late yeares hes shawen in mo Realmes then one. Our Maister Christ Jesus appointes us to no one certane place, wher that we shalbe assured of his presence; but rather forbidding the observatioun of all places, he sendes us to his owen spirituall presence, saying, "Whereso-ever two or thre are gathered in my name, there am I in the middest of them."[1] And in an other place, "Behold I am with yow to the end of the world."[2] We, being grounded upon these promyses, have good hope, through Jesus Christ, that in our congregationis we have the favourable presence of Jesus Christ, as wel in his word as in his holy Sacramentes. For in his Name alone convene we; be him alone we call upon God our Father; and be him alone we are assured, through the power of his Holy Spreit, to obtene our requeastes made according to his wil. We wonder greatlie that the wryter consideris not that the promise of the Prophet is, That all nationis shall cum to that holie montane. We are a nation, (how abject that ever we appeare). Why then will the wryter deny unto us fre passage to the hous of the Lord; seing that the terme of the last dayes is not yet expyred, and seing that we desyre to be taught in the wayes of the Lord, and to walk in his pathes; yea, seing that thousandis in Scotland refuses not to be rebuked of the Lord, and to suffer him to judge amonges us? If the wryter will say, becaus we will not acknowledge Rome to be the mother of all other Kirkis, we answer as befoir; let us heare the commandement of our God, charging us so to do, and our obedience shall not be long craved. For we are most willing to obey our mother, provyding that she shaw the un-douted signes of a naturall mother; but an usurped tytle without farther assurance we dar not admit. And this far for his assertion, and for the mynd of the Prophet.

Now followeth his conclusioun in these wordes: "Wherefoir, if ye can not shaw what place of the worlde afoir thre hundreth yeares your Kirk was into, it followeth of necessitie, that it is no Kirk," &c.

How this conclusion may be rightly gathered of the wordes of the Prophet, we suffer the readers and the wryter himself to considder. And yet, becaus that till us it wer a thing most grevous so to he excommunicate that we wer no Kirk; that is, no parcell of the holy Kirk universall; we answer for our entres, and say,[3] That befoir fifteen hundreth yeares our Kirk was in Jerusalem, in Samaria, in Antiochia, and where-soever Christ Jesus was trewly preached, and his blissed Evangell obedientlie receaved, whether it was amonges the Jewis or Gentiles.[4] There

[1] Math. 18. [2] Math. 28. [3] Nota. [4] Answer.

we say was our Kirk, which is not bound to any one place, but is dispersed upon the face of the hole earth; having one God, one faith, one baptisme, and one Lord Jesus, Saviour of all that unfeanedly beleve. And so we feare not to receave the tytle and authoritie of a particulare Kirk, becaus we have all thinges be Godes word that thereto apperteanes. Yea, we are farther bold to affirme, that if ever it shall please God to bring the Kirk of Rome to hir originall puritie, that she shall not be ashamed to imbrase and reverence the pure Kirk of Scotland as her dearest sister, and nixt resembling her in all thinges, before that pryde and avarice, joyned with idilnes and ryatous leving, corrupted her ministers, and that the inventionis of men wer prefferred to Godes simple treuth. We say yet agane, that whensoever the Kirk of Rome shalbe reduced to that estate in the whiche the Apostles left it, we ar assured that she shall vote in our favoures, against all such as shall deny us to be a Kirk, if God continew us in that simplicitie which this day is mocked of the world. Now let us heare how the wryter proceadeth:—

Tyrie's Letter.

And swyftlie gif ze or ony of zour cunning ministeris of zour new invented Evangell schaw me the dew succession of his Kirk sen Christ, and, by that, agree the manifest contradictioun that baith I have red and sene with my ene amangis the doctouris and principallis of zour new doctrine, I sall not only renunce the sentence quhilk I haif haldin heirtofoir, bot als sall afoir all that will heare me, confes my ignorance and fault, and sall employ all my strength to the furthsetting of zour religion, &c.

Answer.

Of this part of the wryter's letter, and of that which is past befoir, it is easie to consider, that he wil acknawledge no kirk to be the trew Kirk of Jesus Christ, onles that it can shaw the dew succession thereof from the dayes of Jesus Christ: And farther, that the teachers of it do so aggre in doctrine, that in no point they be found to differ one from an other.[1] We answer, if the immaculate spous of Jesus Christ wer bound to these two extremities, the bondage thereof wer moste miserable; but, becaus we find our Maister Jesus Christ is moir favourable to his pure Kirk then Maister Tyrie craves, we are decreed to stand in that fredome and libertie whereunto our Head and only Soverane Lord hes called us.

We find, that he sendes not his afflicted Kirk to seak a lineal succession of any persones befoir that he wil receave them; but he, with all gentilnes calleth his sheap unto him self, saying, "Cum unto me all ye that laubour and are laden, and I will ease yow."[2] And agane,

[1] Answer. [2] Math. 11.

"All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me: and him that cometh to me I cast not away."[1]

O golden and moste comfortable sentence, pronunced of Him who can not lie! Heir is no mention of any succession that we should claime to, befoir that we be receaved of him who is the Head of the Kirk; but only it is said that that which the Father giveth, and that the Sone receaveth, shall not be cast away; nether yet will he lose any that cummeth to him, but that he will save them and rase them up at the last day. And the Apostle, speaking of the vocation of the Gentiles, sendes them not to seak a succession; but, in the person of the Ephesianes, pronunceth this sentence in favoures of all that beleve in Jesus Christ:

"Now therefore ye ar no moir strangers and foraners, but cietizens with the sanctis and of the houshold of God: and ar builded upon the foundatioun of the Apostles and Prophetes, Jesus Christ him self being the cheif corner stone; in whome all the buylding coupled together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord."[2] Heir we find men, who befoir wer strangers, maid cietizens with the sainctes and of the houshold of God; we find them buylded upon the fundation of the Apostles and Prophetes; we find Jesus Christ to be the cheaf corner stone—but we find no mention of any sic succession as Maister Tyrie seameth rigorously and without Godes commandement to crave. And therefoir we can not but wonder, why that mortall man shall crave of us that which nether God the Father, his Sone Christ Jesus, nether yet the holy Apostles in their ministerie, craved of any Realme or Nation. And therefoir, let Maister Tyrie tak this for an answer: That an injust requeast may justly be denyed.

And yet, least that the wryter, or any other, should think themselves ruther mocked then answered,[3] we ade to the premises, That we are alde to shaw the succession of our Kirk directly and laughfully to have flowed from the Apostles. And our reason is, becaus that in our kirkis we nether admit doctrine, ryte, nor ceremonie, which be their wrytingis, we find not authorised.[4] And albeit that this shall not satisfie the new start up Jesuites, yet our consciences are at rest, becaus we are assured to be avowed of the Supreame Judge.

The secund which he requyreth is, that we shall aggre the manifest contradiction that is amonges the principall Doctoures of our new doctrine and late inventet Evangell. His blaspheamie we remit be Godes hand to be punished; and yet we wold knowe what doctrine is that which he tearmes new. Our Evangell, (as befoir is said), is that same which Jesus Christ, be him selfe and be his Apostles manifested unto the world, as all sic as heare the forme of our doctrine can witnes.[5] Where he desyres us to aggre all controversies amonges our teacheris:

[1] Jo. 6. [2] Ephes. 2. [3] Answer to Tyreis unreasonable desyre. [4] Nota. [5] Direct answer.

we answer, *bona fide*, that we know no controversie in doctrine, especially of that which concernes mannes salvation, within the Realme of Scotland, but that all the preacheours within our kirkis uniformely aggre in doctrine and judgement, notwithstanding the diversitie of giftes. If Maister Tyrie wolde sende us to consiliate all controversies that are in Germanie and ellis where, his secund petition hes no greater reason then had the former; for of God we have no farther charge but to watche over that flocke whiche is subject unto us. God hes reased and appointed us preacheours to the Realme of Scotland; in the boundis whereof, if we plant not trew doctrine according to the talent committed to our charge, and oppone ourselves to all kynde of erroures that may infect the flock, we shalbe criminall befoir God. But that we ar precisedly bound to ryn from countrie to countrie to aggre all controversies, albeit it wer evin in the maters of religion, we find no expres commandement gevin to us in that behalf of our God. And, therefoir, we must desyre the inspection of Maister Tyrie his power, be vertew whereof he may charge us to that paneful travel, befoir that we can promise obedience.

But Maister Tyrie, we knowe will alledge, that in wryting of his letter, there was no such thing in his mynd; but that his meaning was, that becaus we did not aggre fully amonges our selves in all heades, therefoir he wold not be of our Kirk: for that in plane wordes he declareth, &c. Now, all contention laid asyde, we will desyre Maister Tyrie, and the rest of his faction, deaply to considder, if they be buylded upon a sure fundatioun, whill that they have none other caus why they appone them selves to the treuth of God, now of his mercy revealed to the world, but becaus that such as profes that treuth aggre not in all heades amonges them selves.

We demand then, What if they had lived in the dayis of the Apostles, when the preaching of Christ Jesus was no les odious to the visible Kirk,[1] to wit, to the posteritie of Arahon and Levi, who then rewled in Jerusalem, then hes the light of the Evangell benc of late yeares, to that Romane Antechrist, and unto suche as live be his merchandice? Wold Maister Tyrie (we ask) and his faction have refused the Evangell, becaus that in the bosome of the Kirk there arose great controversie, and that in the especiall heades of religion? For, did not some boldely affirme in the Kirk of Antiochia,[2] that onles the Gentiles were circumcised according to the law of Moses, they could not be saved. Which doctrine and affirmation was moir dangerous and moir sclanderous in those dayes then all the controversies that yet ar rissen amonges such as have refused the dampnable wayes of the Papistrie, for it concerneth the cheaf head of justification. And will any yet say, that therefore the Evangell was not the glade tydinges of salvatioun? And they that imbrased it trewly wer not the trew members of Jesus Christ?

[1] Nota. [2] Act. 15.

We looke that men will be moir moderat then some shaw themselves to be, who, for certane controversies of far les importance then that was, dare boldly dampne the treuth and the professoures of the same, becaus, say they, *Proprium est hereticorum a se invicem dissentire.* That is, "It is proper to heretykes to disagre amonges them selves:" whiche sentence, how ancient that ever it be, if it should be so understand as the Papist doeth—that is, whosoever disagreis amonges them selves in materis of religion they are heretykes;—if the former sentence (we say) should be so understand, then shall we accuse mo of heresie then can be excused in any one age from Christ Jesus to this day. For did not Paul disagre from Peter?[1] Yea, he did so disagre from him, that he did resist him planly to his face, becaus that he walked not according to the right way of the treuth of the gospell. These wer two prencipall pillers; the one appointed to the Jewes, and the other to the Gentiles. What shall we say of the hote contention which fell betuix Barnabas and Paule, which separated them that befoir wer joyned in as strate conjunction as ever wer two mortall men upon the earth?[2] If Maister Tyrie and his Jesuites will alledge that these wer but suddane passiones, and did not concerne any cheaf head of doctrine, the Holy Ghost will prove the contrare.[3] For the one tuiched the conscience of men, concerning the fredome of meates; and the other the admission of ministers, after that they had ones fallen back from that function: which heades wer of greater weght in those dayes (as heirtofoir we have said) then any controversie which the Papistes ar able to shaw to be, or yet to have bene, betwix us that professes the Evangell and do abhorre their abhominationes. Farther reasoning of this head for this present we omit, and will proceed with Maister Tyrie's letter.

Tyrie's Letter.

Quhairfoir, Schir, considdering that in that Kirk, in the quhilk I am be the grace of God, thair is continuall succession of doctrine, and that same self quhilk is preachit now, hes bene teichit in all ages; as it is manifest till ony man that hes red all ancient wryteris afoir our tymes. And mairover, I find it spred throw all the world, as in lyke maner it is manifest, and the experience dois teich zow; for ze will cum to na place quhair Christis doctrine is ressavit, bot ze will find the religion, at leist in mony personis. Quhairfoir, gif ze can not schaw in na uther religion the samin, it followis evidently that na uther religion is the trew religion.

[1] Gal. 2. [2] Act. 15.

[3] All the Reformed Churches agreed upon every essential point; there were no differences among them upon the great subjects which concern the salvation of man. See the Harmony of the Confessions of Faith of the principal Reformed Churches, A. D. 1584.

ANSWER.

To this epilog, and argument gathered thereof, we answer only this—That of a manifest lie there can no treuth be concluded.[1] His manifest and impudent lie, we say, is, That he affirmes, that in that Kirk, in the which he is, there is continuall succession of doctrine,[2] and that the self same which is preached now hes bene taught in all ages.—This, we affirme, is a moste impudent lie. For now, and of late yeares, it hath bene taught, and of the people receaved, that the Messe was a sacrifice propitiatorie for the sinnis of the quick and the dead; That the Pape was the head of the Kirk, and such other heades of moste heretical doctrine, approved in the Papisticall Kirk: which heades we affirme wer unknowen in the age of the Apostles, or yet of the Fathers that immediatly followed them. And for the probation thereof, we desyre their wrytingis to be produced, ever beginning at them who wer appointed of God to preache, and to plant the veritie in the world.

We are not bound to credite whatsoever the Fathers have spoken: but our faith, (as is befoir said), is buylded upon the sure Rock, Jesus Christ, and upon the fundatioun of the Apostles and Prophetes.[3] So far as any Fathers aggre therewith, we reverently do imbrase it; but if the Fathers have affirmed anything without the warrand of the written word of the Eternall our God, to whose only voce the sheap of his pasture ar bound, it is as laughfull to us to reject that which proceedeth from man and not from God,[4] as it is easie to them to affirme it. Maister Tyrie may know that we use the wordes of the ancientis.

It appeareth to us, to be the whole progres of Maister Tyrie's letter,[5] that he and his factioun can acknowledge no Kirk which, in all ages, hes not bene visible to the eyes of men, having lykwise a visible succession. For, first, he affirmes, that the Kirk whereof the Prophet Isaias speakes, should be manifest and visible through all the world.[6] And heare, last, he alledgeth, that we can cum in no place where we sall not find that Religion spred, at the least, in many persones. And thereof he concludes, that if we can not prove the lyke of our Religion, it followis that it is not the trew Religion.

If Maister Tyrie recant not this assertion, he must correct his crede.[7] And where universally befor we use to say, *Credo sanctam Ecclesiam*, &c., he must say *Video sanctam Ecclesiam*.[8] For if there be no Kirk upon the face of the earth, but that which is visible, and that which may be shawen first be certane notes external, then superfluous and vane it wer to us to say, I beleve the holy Kirk universall; but confidently we might affirme, I see the holy Kirk. If Maister Tyrie will say, We may

[1] Nota.
[2] Tyrie's impudencie.
[3] Ephes. 2.
[4] Nota.
[5] The effect of Tyrie's letter.
[6] His affirmationis.
[7] Answer to his affirmationes.
[8] Nota.—"I believe in the holy Church," he must say, "I see the holy Church."

bothe se and beleve, and be our sight our faith may be strengthened; for Thomas saw the woundes in the handes, feat, and syde of Christ Jesus, and beleved; and so may we se the Kirk, and yet beleve it. If we should grant so far to Maister Tyrie, yet wer his argument nothing helped; for the question is not. Whether that we may notifie those thinges that we are bound to beleve? but the question is, If that we are not bound to beleve those thinges which sometymes ar utterly removed from the external senses of men? Maister Tyrie will acknowledge no Kirk except that which hes bene, and is visible. We, in the contrare, acknowledge and reverence the spous of Christ Jesus, somtymes exyled from the world,[1] receaving sometymes the wynges of an egle that she may fle to the wyldernes, whereof God, and not of man, she hath her place prepared. We reverence her which doeth complane, that she hath bene desolate, barrane, a captive, and a wanderer to and fro. That spous of Jesus Christ brages so lytle of her succession, visible to mannes eyes, that she is rest in admiration, who should have nurished her children during the tyme of her baniwement.[2]

If Master Tyrie be so well seue in the ancient wryters, as in his wryting he wold shaw him self to be, then can he not be ignorant, that it is not without great caus that the Holy Goste hath taught us to say, "I beleve the holy Kirk universall:"[3] to wit, becaus that oftentymes it is that the Kirk militant is so afflicted, yea, the bewtie thereof is so obscured to the moste part of the worlde, that the synagoge of Sathan usurpes the tytle of the trew Kirk, and Babilone is preferred to Jerusalem; so that the elect are compelled to compleane, and say, "We se not our owen signes, now is there no prophet any moir amonges us."[4] Let the dayes of Helyas and his complaint witnes whether that the Kirk of God is alwayes so visible, that it may be pointed furth with the finger of man. Thus we wryte shortly, to give occasion to Maister Tyrie, and to such as are blinded with that errour, moir deaply to considder that artickle of their beleve, and not so rashely to condempne such as God of his mercy calles from darknes to light. Now to the rest of his letter.

Tyrie's Letter.

Thair is sum, I knaw, perchance for laik outher of gude discourse or wit,[5] measures the veritie of the things thay follow be the warldly succes thay have in the following of it. Bot surely I can not esteme zow to be of that rank; and gif ze wer, I wald exhort zow to reid amangis the rest the sevintene and twa Psalme,[6] and the hundreth fortie and thre Psalme; quhairby ze wil easily understand, that nouther the prosperous succes of zour part, (in warldly thinges I mene), preifis it that ze follow

[1] Apocal. 12.
[2] Isai. 49.
[3] Note diligently.
[4] Psalm. 74.
[5] "Wit," understanding.
[6] So in original (seventy-third).

to be of veritie, nor zit our decay and adversitie makis our part to be convicted; ze, rather, the mater being considderit as it aught to be, zour prosperitie is rather a manifest argument of Goddis wraith, nor of any trueth of veritie. For it is said be ane godly, haly, and cunning[1] man, ane xj. hundreth zeir by past, "*Quod nihil infelicius felicitate peccantium, quia et penalis nutritur impunitas, et mala voluntas, velut interior hostis roboratur*," &c.

ANSWER.

We might have passed by this parcell without answer, becaus that nothing in it, conceaved justly can be laid to our charge. For our warldly felicitie, prosperitie, and rest, nether is, neither yet hes bene, at any tyme sence we have imbrased the Evangel of Jesus Christ, suche as may nurishe us in wickednes; nether yet are the Papists able to convict us of such impietie, as all the world know hath roung among them of mo years then an hundreth thrise told. And in the mean tyme, to what honour and worldly dignitie they are ascended, we mak them selves judges. If they say, the doctrine which we teach is wondrously spred within this hundreth yeares, so that now it hes almoste red it self furth of bondage, we wold demand of the Papistes, If the Evangell of Jesus Christ ceased to be the doctrine of salvation, what tyme the Kirkis gat rest in Judea and elles where in the dayes of the Apostles? If they answer, that they meane no such thing; then yet we demand, if the hand of the Lord be more shortened now then that it was in the primative Kirk, so that now He may not aswell manteane his treuth, and enlarge the kingdome of his onely Sone, as that he did in the dayis of the Apostles? Whatsoever the Papistes shall answer, we are assured, that nether is his power diminished, so that he may not manteane his treuth, nether yet is his lufe so waxen cold towardes his Kirk, but that he will in his anger remember upon mercy.

Why do not those cruell men considder, what innocent bloode hath bene shed for the testimonie of Christ's Evangell within these threscore yeares? Wold they that God at no tyme should shaw pietie upon the patient suffering of his afflicted Kirk? Wolde they that the sworde should still devour? Wold they that the flaming fyres should never be quenched? If that so they wold, they shaw them selves the sones of him who hath bene a murtherer from the beginning, and yet continew in the same malice. But our God beareth towardes his weak children a fatherly affectioun, whereby he is moved somtymes to stay the furie and rage of Sathan for a ceason, to the end that his chosen moir gladely may prepare them selves to a new battell. Trew it is, the doctrine of salvation is greatly enlarged; and thereof we praise God: trew it is, that Sathan hath not universally such power to persecute, as sometymes he hath had; but will Maister Tyrie thereof conclude, that

[1] "Cunning," learned.

in our Kirk there is no strength! But now to the Scriptures which Maister Tyrie coateth.[1]

Trew it is that David, in his seventy-third Psalme, (according to the compt of the Hebrewes,) affirmes, that nether the worldly prosperitie of the ungodly, nor yet the affliction of the godly, ought to discourage such as feare God. In this generall head, we aggre with Maister Tyrie and with all Papistes. But we affirme, that the notes and signes, which the Holy Ghost giveth in that place, be the which the wicked shall be knowen, do no wyse apperteane to us; but of many yeares moste evidently have appeared, and to this hour do yet appeare, in the Pape, and in many of those that manteane his kingdome. For, whether that the generation of that Romane Antechrist hath bene exemed from the troubles of men; whether that their pryde hes bene as visible as ever was their garment; whether that their eyes have start out for fatnes; and finally, whether that their licentious levinges, their oppression and presumption, have not planely declared that they have set their mouth against the heaven, we are content that the world (be it never so blind), the histories of their lives, (not written be us, but be their owen scribes), and the verray experience which all men now have, and heirtofoir have had of their proceadinges, beare record whether that they or we be noted in that Psalme. We give Maister Tyrie to understand, that we are better acquented with the lives and conversationis of the Papes and Cardinalles then thay think us to be; and that we know the strength of their lawes, decries, statutes, and counsalles better then the Jesuites knowes the reule of Jesus,[2] albeit that presumpteously they have usurped his name. And therefoir we wil crave of Maister Tyrie and of all his faction, that in wryting either to us, or yet till suche as they wold perswade, that they use treuth and simplicitie; and so shall they find themselves better contented, in reading of our answers. For this, befoir the Lord Jesus, we protest, that it is the treuth which we teach, and wherein we delyte; the lufe whereof causes us abhor all mannes invention, superstition, and idolatrie. And thus far to the answers of the Scriptures which Maister Tyrie coateth.

Now to the sentence of the ancient wryter, whose name he suppresseth, we answer, That his wordes cut the throttes of the proud Papistes of that age, and of all their followers sence those dayis. For then began the taill of the Dragoun to draw the starres from the heaven to the earth;[3] then began the fontanes, which sometymes gave cleare and holsome watter to become bitter, yea, to be turned unto blood: and yet did they prosper in all worldlie felicitie, which was the caus that many godly men, lamenting that publict corruption, wer compelled to pronunce that and like sentences against the verray Kirk men that then lyved. And least that Maister Tyrie should thinke that this we affirme

[1] "Coateth," quotes. [2] Nota. [3] Revel. 12.

without authoritie, we remit him to the wrytings of Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Bernard, and others, that wer nether come long before, nor after the tyme that he notes; whose wrytinges, if he shall diligentlie examine, he sal find what was their judgement of the seat of Rome in their dayes. And what others, that after followed added to the former impietie of their fathers, from the day that ones the Pope wer decored, or rather deformed, with a triple crowne, let the wryters of all ages sence beare witnes.

And least that Maister Tyrie shal think that we put him to to much pane, when that we send him to all wryters in generall, we shal releve him somwhat, and appoint him to two only, whome justly he can not suspect to have bene corrupted be us. The one is Abbas Joachim, a man sometymes of great authoritie and reputation amonges the Papistes; the other is Joannes Aventinus,[1] historiographur, whose historie was prented be command and with the priviledge of the Empreour Charles the Fyft. Let the wrytinges, we say, of these two, beare witnes what hes bene the judgement of divers men in divers ages, of Rome, of the pryde of the prelacie, of their corruption in lyfe and doctrine, and finally, of their defectioun from the trueth.

Abbas Joachim,[2] wryting upon the wordes of the Revelation of Sanct Johne, "the sext angel powred furth his phyole upon the great flood Euphrates," &c., hes this sentence, *Si autem aquæ hujus fluminis quod vocatur Euphrates, populi sunt, et gentes, et linguæ, quæ parent Romano imperio; si quidem civitas Romana ipsa, est nova Babilon*, &c. "That if (sayeth he) the watters of this flood that is called Euphrates, be people, nationis, and tounges that obey the Romane impyre, for the cietie of Rome itself is new Babilon." This place, and that which ensewes of the drying up of the watters, evidently shawes

[1] John Aventinus, a native of Bavaria, and the author of several historical works. The one here mentioned is his great work, "Annalium Boiorum Libri Septem. Excusum Ingolstadii, 1554," folio. The privilege of the Emperor Charles V. is dated Bruxellis, pridie Idus Junii, 1554. The editor of the British Reformers remarks, "The Jesuits have alleged that Aventinus was a Lutheran in sentiment, as they desire to weaken the force of his testimony against the evil conduct of the Popes, and the vicious lives of the Romish priests."

[2] "Joachim, Abbot of Corazzo, and afterwards of Florence, flourished in the twelfth century. He was revered by the people as a saint and a prophet. He wrote some mystical commentaries upon the Scriptures, in which he spoke of the necessity of a reformation in the Church, and animadverted strongly upon the corrupt state in which it then was. The comment on the Revelation has been ascribed to one of his disciples."—See Dupin, Cent. xiii. (Editor of the British Reformers, 1830.)—There are several editions of the "Vaticinia sive prophetiæ Abbatis Joachimi et Anselmi episcopi Marsicani." A life by D. Gervaise, is entitled, "Histoire de l'Abbé Joachim, surnommé le Prophète, avec l'analyse de ses ouvrages." Paris, 1745, 2 vols. 12mo.

what was the judgement of the wryter in his dayes of Rome; to wit, that it was become new Babilon. And least that any should think that the author meaneth of the ancient Romane impyre, and not of the regiment of the Kirk that was in it, or in the dominion thereof, he explanes him selfe after whill, that he interpretes the great hoore, and the kinges of the earth who commit huredome with her. The great hoore, he sayes, the universal Fatheris affirmed to be Rome: not, says he, as concerning the congregation of the just, which sometymes was a pilgramer in it, but as concerning the multitude of the reprobate, who be their wicked workes blaspheameth and impungeth the same Kirk, being a pilgramer with hir. Let Maister Tyrie mark, that the wryter saw in Rome two Kirkis: the hoore, and her multitude dispersed in all the places of the impyre; and the Kirk which was a stranger, blaspheamed and impunged be the multitude. And yet after he explanes him self more planely, saying, *Reges vero terræ, dicti sunt prælati, quibus concessum est regimen animarum. Quorum nonnulli fornicantur cum Babilone, quumquidem ut placeant hominibus parvipendunt et negligunt mandatum Dei;* "The kinges of the earth (says he) are called the prelates, to whome the regiment of saules is committed, of whome, nevertheles, some commit fornication with Babilon; because that they, for the pleasure of men, neglect and dispyse the commandement of God." And least that any should thinke that suche a sentence had reckelesly eschaped him, he doubles the same wordes over agane, saying, *Reges vero terræ esse prælatos Ecclesiarum, quorum aliqui fornicantur cum Babilone, superius dictum est;* "It is befoir said (sayeth he), that the kinges of the earth are the prelates of the Kirkis, of whom some commit hooredome with Babilon." And proceades farther, saying, *Et quod sequitur: Et mercatores terræ de virtute deliciarum ejus, divites facti sunt ad falsos sacerdotes et hipocritas, referendum est, qui negotiantes regnum Dei temporalibus lucris*, &c. That is, "And that which followeth, (sayeth he), and the merchandes of the earth wer made riche of the power of her pleasures; that is to be referred to the fals preastes and hypocrhites, who, making merchandice of the kingdome of God, gapes for temporall advantage," &c. And after a lytle, upon these wordes, and the merchandes of the earth shall murne, &c., he sayes, *Negotiatores terræ qui sicut superius dictum est, ipsi sunt sacerdotes bruti qui nesciunt que Dei sunt. Sacerdotes animales qui dati sunt in atrium exterius, ut manducent peccata populi: qui vendunt orationes et missas pro denariis facientes domum orationis apothecam negotiationis, facientes inquam forum publicum et speluncam latronum*, &c. That is, "The merchandes of the earth, (as is before said), they are the brutish preastes, that knowe not those thinges that apperteane to God; sensuall preastes that are placed in the outward court, that they may eat the sinnes of the people; who sell prayers and messes for money; making the hous

of prayer ane chop of merchandice, yea, making it (I say) a publict and oppen mercat, and a den of theves,"[1] &c.

If Master Tyrie, or any other of that sect, blame us of rayling (as commonly they use to do, when that we speak the treuth), then let him and them consider, that we learned not of Martyn Luther what kind of men the Papistes wer, but that which we speak and affirme now, we have receaved of the Papistes them selves. For this hath bene the mercyfull provydence of God towardes his lytle flock ever from the beginning, that when an universall corruption began to spred the self, then wer rased some, as it wer one or two amonges the hole multitude, till admonishe the present age and the posterities to come, how far men had declyned from the originall puritie, that at least God might have some testimonie that the veritie of God was not altogether buryed in the earth. But now let us heare the judgementes of others.

Such as be any thing acquented with the histories of the antiquitie, can not be ignorant how vehement was the contention betuix Nicolaus the first, and certane of the bishoppes of Germanie, for the divorcement and secund mariage of Lotharius King of Ungarie.[2] Which of the two parties had the just action, we dispute not; but what wer the crymes lade to the Pape in those dayes we shall shortly touche. Efter that Tetogaudus[3] and Guntherus, who wer the two cheaf bishoppes that opponed them selves to the pryde of the Romane Bishop, had largely purged them selves of all things wherewith he charged them, they enter in into moste bitter accusation of the said Nicolas Pape. And after other things, they lade to his charge, that most tyrannically he had oppressed the libertie of the spous of Jesus Christ. And after that they have rehearsed the principall ornaments wherewith the trew Kirk was decored, they say, *Quæ beneficia tu veluti latro intercipis, templo Dei præripis, in teque; transfers*, &c. And after, *Tu Pontificis quidem personam præ te fers, at tyrannum agitas: sub habitu, et cultu pastoris, lupum sentimus: titulus Parentem mentitur, tute factis Jovem ostentas.*[4] That is, "Whiche benefites thow as a murtherer cutteth of, and takis away from the Kirk of God, transferring them unto thy self. Thow shawis the person of a pasture, but planely thow playes the tyranne: under the habit and cloithing of a sheapherd, we feale the crueltie of a wolf." The tytle lies, for it calleth thee Father, but thow thy self into thy workes shawes the thundering of Jupiter, &c. "And therfoir (say they) we knowe not thy voce, we regarde not thy statutes, nether yet feare we thy bulles, nor thunderinges. If thow pretend to interdite us, we feare not to cut thy throt with thy owen sword;[5] for the Holy

[1] Rejoyse Papistes, heare are Messes, but marke that they are solde.—(Marginal note). [2] "Ungarie," Hungary.

[3] In Aventinus, the name is printed Tetgaudus. A full account of this affair is given by Fleury, in his Histoire Ecclesiastique, Liv. 50.

[4] Aventi. lib. 4. foli. 428.

[5] Let the Papistes confute this or elles absolve us.

Ghost is author of all the Kirkis whersoever they be dispersed upon the face of the earth." This was the judgement of many otheris then of these befoir expressed, of the Seat of Rome in those dayes, about 800 yeares after the ascension of Christ; and how the pryde and iniquitie of that Seat augmented, as also the free speaking of men against the same, the subsequentis will declare.

What lamentable tragedie was played betuix Hildebrand, called Gregor the Sevint, and Henrie the fourt, Empreour of Rome,[1] mo historiographoures then one or two do witnesse. Nether yet do those writers who wer most addict to the faction of the Pope, to wit, Gerochus, and Paulus, so cover the shame of that deceaver, but that they give sufficient light to men, to se what mischeaf lurked within the bosome of that pestilent Seat. For wryting what the said Hildebrand did, what tyme that he was first deposed from that seat, which be craft and without all ordour he did usurp, they say that he spared not largely to bestow the patrimonie of the Kirk upon soldiours, and upone capitanes of warre, upon the which, the pure cheafly should have bene susteaned; yea, they affirme, that he shew him self more rigerous against the Empreour then it became a pasture[2] to have done. If this was their judgement who tooke upon them to defend his action and caus, what think we was the judgement of others? That shall we better understand be his accusation, and be the sentence pronunced against him be all the bishoppes of France and Germanie, who with one voce, concluded, that Hildebrand was ambitious, perjured, an usurper of the Empreoures authoritie; one that violated and brak the concord of the Kirk; and therefore, that he was unworthie of that seat. This sentence was pronunced in his owen face, whil that he was sitting in counsal in Rome, be one Rulandus, cheaf preast of Parma, who boldly, and without any salutation, offering the decreit of the Counsall, together with the Empreoures letters, said, "This Hildebrand is no bishop, no father, no pasture:[2] he is a theaf, a wolf, a murtherer, a tyranne; and therefoir let him be deposed," &c.

We are not ignorant that hereof ensewed great tumult, sedition, and trouble. But as that purged nothing his former infamie, so did it not stop the mouthes of many, planely to pronunce what judgement they had of him and of that seat; to wit, that he, under the tytle of Christ, did the verray work of the Antichrist; that he sat in the Tempell of God, which then was become Babilone; that he was worshipped and extolled above all that which was called God; that he glorifyed as if he could not erre, &c. These, and others crymes of

[1] The Emperor Henry IV. was deposed by Gregory VII., usually called Pope Hildebrand. The account of his treatment in the depth of winter, A.D. 1077, when the Emperor appeared at the gates of Canossa (where the Pope then was), barefooted, etc., attended by his wife and child, is fully described in Foxe's Book of Martyrs, and other works.

[2] "Pasture," pastor.

no les weight, wer lade in that age to the bishoppes and seat of Rome; and this was far without the terme of thre hundreth yeares, within the which Maister Tyrie wolde limitat the doctrine of our Kirk. But let us heare farther.

As the practises of the bishoppes of Rome wer more and more espyed, the bishoppes of Germanie assembled them selves in Counsall at Reginoburgium;[1] where the bishop of that same cuntrie, in his most vehement orison, made against the authors of sedition, amonges other thinges, pronunced this sentence against the bishoppes and seat of Rome. "Christ our Saviour, (says he), most diligentlie foirwarned us to be ware of fals Christes, and fals prophetes, whome he willed us to discerne and know be their workes, whome presently,[2] onles we be more blind, we may se." For (says he) *Romani flamines arma in omnes habent Christianos, audendo, fallendo, et bella ex bellis serendo magni facti, oves trucidant, occidunt, pacem, concordiam terris depellunt*,[3] &c. That is, "These Romane preastes (he notes the hole rable) make warre against all Christianes, some tymes malepartly, sometymes craftely, and be deceat they still continew warre upon warre; they themselves, being made great, murther and slay the sheap; breifly, they tak peace and concord from the earth." And after a lytle, in the same orison, which is to be found in the sevint booke of the Historie foresaid, he sayes, *Hildebrandus ante annos centum atque septuaginta, primus specie religionis Antichristi imperii fundamenta jecit. Hoc bellum nefandum primus auspicatus est, quod per successores huc usque continuatur*,[4] &c. That is, "Hilldebrand (says he), before an hundreth and sevintie yeares, first under apperance of Religion, laid the fundation of the impyre of the Antechrist. He first began this unhappy warre, which to this day is continued be his successoures." He farther proceades and sayes, "Beleve the man that hes experience: these preastes of Babilone desyre to regne alone; they shal not cease unto such tyme as that they have oppressed the honor of the Romane impyre: and consequently, the trew pastures that wold fead the flocke being oppressed, and the barking dogges being removed, they shall extinguishe the treuth, they shall murther, and trode all thinges under their feat; they shall sit in the temple of God, and be extolled above all that is worshipped,"[5] &c.

These, and many other grave sentences, wer pronunced be the said Ebirhardus, and wer ratifyed and confirmed be the hole Bishoppes, and Senate of Germanie; wherby it is evident what judgement that age had of the Bishoppes of Rome and their Colleges. To avoyde farther prolixitie, we omit the orison and judgement of Probus, the Bishop of

[1] "Reginoburgium," or Ratisbon (in German, Regensburg), on the banks of the Danube.

[2] Nota.

[3] This day yet.—(Marginal note.)

[4] Aven. lib. 7. (p. 683.)

[5] Let the worlde judge.

Tullos ;[1] the publict edict set furth against the Pope and against his practises in the dayes of Lodovicus the fourt Empreour,[2] together with the judgementes of many other, which such as are exercised in reading of histories may note. So that, if Maister Tyrie, or any of his sect, shall after this accuse us, that we are the first that have disclosed that man of sin, the moste ancient wryters shall convict him, and purge us. Now shortly to the rest of his letter.

Tyrie's Letter.

Sen my departing fra zow I have sene sindrie congregationis, specially in Germanie, professing, as they pretendit, the trew word of God and his Evangell ; bot, in veritie, betuix them thair selfis, and them and zow, I find sa greit difference and repugnance in materis of greit consequence, that gif thair wer na uther argument to let me not depart fra the Catholick Kirk, in the quhilk I was baptised, that wer sufficient, &c.

Answer.

When Maister Tyrie shall accuse, in special, wherein the congregationis in Germanie differ amonges them selves, and that we differ from them, then shall we shaw our judgementes, whether the difference be of suche importance as it ought to dissolve the unitie of the Kirk. The Confession of our Faith, and the Ordour of our Kirk, is patent to all that lyst to read the same ; when either he, or any other, shall oppunge any one or two heades of the same, so long as God pleases to reteane in this miserable life, such as of his mercy he hes made his ministers, to blow the trompet of his judgements to this most wicked generation, neither he, nor any other, that please to oppone them selves to our Confessioun, shall long crave an answer ; an answer, we say, of any one or two heades which they please to oppoung. For Master Tyrie ought to understand, that the preaching ministers within the Realme of Scotland are oxen, ever laboring under the yock, and that into the husbandrie of the Lord ; and therefore they can have no tyme vacant from their necessary cures, to compas countries with the Jesuits, (who ar subject to none other yocke,[3] then to that of their owen election,) to espy what faultes they can finde amonges the congregationis. As we have no vacantes, (we say), to considder all tryfles that offend delicate men, who

[1] At the Council of Wurtzburg, A.D. 1237.

[2] Or rather Lewis the Fifth, elected Emperor in the year 1314.

[3] "The other Romish ecclesiastical orders have many rules and strict devotional observances to fulfil, but the Jesuits are freed from those burdens, and even from the daily drudgery of reciting from the Breviary the service of the day. The indulgences are expressly permitted, that they may be the more active in promoting the interests of the Papacy, to which they vow unqualified obedience."—(Editor of British Reformers, 1830.)

can acknowledge no Kirk but that which in all pointes be absolute and perfyte; so, albeit that bothe we did considder them and condempne them, yet we usurpe no authoritie above our brether, but remit all men to their owen judge, and do reverence all congregationis, who do agree with us in the principallis of our faith, as the particulare Kirkis of Jesus Christ. Albeit that in all ceremonies there be not uniformitie; yea, and albeit that in some heades of doctrine also there appeare repugnance, yet will we not brek brotherly concord, provyding that we aggre in the principallis. Principallis, we call those heades of doctrine, without the confession and consent whereof the Kirk was not planted. By these few wordes Maister Tyrie, (if he be wyse), may understand what we meane: and so we procead to the conclusion of his letter.

Tyrie's Letter.

Quhairfoir, Schir, I exhort yow, as I begouth, to think on this mater as deiply as it becumis a Christiane man; and quhen ze have swa done advertise me of zour sentiment. In the meane time, I sall pray Almichtie God be his grace to illuminat zour spreit, to knaw in this mater the richt way, and to gif fortitude and strenth, quhen ze haif knawin it, to profes it sa far as salbe convenient to zour estate and salvatioun. Having na farther occasioun of wryting, committis zow to the protectioun of Almichtie God.

Writtin at Paris, the vi. of December, be zour maist humbill servitour and brother,

James Tyrie.

Gif ze pleis to answer, ze may send zour wryting to the Baillie of Arroll,[1] quha will caus it to be send to me.

Answer.

Against this exhortation wil we object nothing; for our ernest desyre is, that men diligently considder what doctrine they imbrase, what fundation and ground their faith hes, and, finally, what way they follow, thinking thereby to atteane to eternall felicitie. For this careles securitie, that universally may be espyed in men, we dampne,[2] and ever have dampned. But this we feare not to affirme, as before we have written; that the doctrine of the Papisticall Kirk, now many years bypast, hath bene altogether corrupt; that their opinion, which they call their Catholick faith, hes no sure ground within the work of God; and that the way, which they for the moste part have followed, was the verray way of perdition to all such as without trew repentance departed this lyfe in that blindnes; and much more shallbe to all persons and

[1] Erroll.

[2] "Dampne," condemn.

estates that now shall manteane those abhominationes, becaus the light is come, and hes sufficiently declared the former darknes. That man of sin is so manifestlie reveled, that excuse of ignorance there resteth none; but a fearefull judgement abydes all such, that yet farther will follow his dampnable wayes.

This, Schir, ye have our judgement, which albeit ye shall receave laitter then we wold, yet, the state of tyme being considdered, we dout not but ye shall interprete all thinges to the best. Use our letter so, we pray yow, that it may come to the knowledge of the wryter to yow, whose conversion we no les seek then he appeares to seek youres. And thus we hartly commit yow to the protection of the Omnipotent.

Of Edinburgh, the 10. day of August, Anno Do. 1568.

TO THE FAITHFULL READER.

WHAT malice, invy, and heatrent of the treuth, hes moved men to brust furth against me, and my behavour in Scotland, Ingland, and elles where, I lytle regarde. For a good conscience susteanes me, before my God, against all the odious lies that have bene laide to my charge, now many yeares past; for the whiche, I dout not but the blaspheamers shall answer (onles repentance prevene judgement), when the secreates of heartes shalbe disclosed.

The caus that I adde this imperfyte letter to the former discourse is, That they, whome Sathan hath not blinded by invy, may see and understand what a troubled conscience craves into the day of battell. Becaus that God now in his mercy hath put end to the battell of my deare mother, Maistres ELIZABETH BOWES, before that he put end to my wretched lyfe, I could not cease but declare to the worlde what was the caus of our great familiaritie and long acquentance; whiche was nether fleshe nor bloode, but a troubled conscience upon hir part, which never suffered her to rest but when she was in the company of the faithful, of whome (fra the first hearing of the word at my mouth) she judged me to be one.

Now, seing her battell is ended, and I am upon the point shortly to follow, this I leave to the posteritie for discharge of my conscience, and to the instruction of her children: That in Scotland, Ingland, France, and Germanie, I have heard the complaintes of divers that feared God, but of the lyke conflict as she susteyned, fra the tyme of her first acquentance, and long before (as her owen mouth, ofter then ones confessed to me), til this hour, I have not knowen. For her tentation was not in the fleshe, nor for any thing that apperteyned to fleshe (no, not

when she was in greatest desolation), but it was in spirite: For Sathan did continually buffette her, that remission of sinnes in Christ Jesus apperteyned nothing unto her, be reason of her former idolatrie and other iniquities: for the which, notwithstanding any worldlie comfort, I have sene her (not for a starte, but in long continuance) powre furth teares, and send to God dolorous complaints, ofter then ever I heard man or woman in my lyfe. Her company to me was comfortable (yea, honorable and profitable, for she was to me and myne a mother); but yet it was not without some croce: for besydes trouble and fasherie of body susteyned for her, my mynde was seldome quyet, for doing somewhat for the comfort of her troubled conscience; whereof this rude letter is the least, and of basest[1] argument, amongs many which ly besyde me,[2] and so must do be reason of my inabilitie in mo sortes then one.

I hartly salute and take my good-night[3] of all the faithfull in bothe the Realmes; earnestly desyring the assistance of their prayers, that without any notable sclander to the Evangell of Jesus Christ I may end my battell: for as the worlde is wearie of me, so am I of it.

Of Sanctandrois, the 12th of Julii, 1572.

JOHNE KNOX.

Lord! be mercyful to England and Scotland, for we stand bothe in a dangerous estate; and that becaus we wold not obey thy holesome admonitionis, whiche wer thyne, how contemptable that ever the persones of thy messingers wer. Yet, Lord, remember mercy for thy treuthes saik! Amen, Amen. And give us not to the opprobrie[4] of thy enemies, of whome the Castell of Edinburgh[5] are the principales, within this Realme. Convert them, Lord, or elles confound them, that the worlde

[1] "Basest," feeblest.

[2] His own letters to which Knox refers, are no doubt those already printed in vol. iii.

[3] "Good-night," farewell.

[4] "Opprobrie," reproach.

[5] Then possessed by the Queen's adherents.

may ones agane understand that thow art a trew and a righteous God. Amen, Amen, Amen.

Followeth the Letter as it past from my hand, at Diep the 20th of Julii, 1554.

TO HIS LOVING MOTHER, MAISTRES ELIZABETH BOWES, TROUBLED IN SPIRITE, WHOME GOD COMFORT FOR HIS GREAT MERCYES SAKE. AMEN.[1]

Psalme 79.—*Ryse, Lord! streache out thy hand: forget not the sobbes of the oppressed.*

Right dearely beloved Mother in our Saviour Jesus Christ, now is our dolour, appointed by God, and forespoken by his prophetes, come upon us as the dolour of a woman in the birth of her first chylde; and so is it come, as with your eares, bothe oppenly and privately, oftentymes yow have hard declared. When I remember your great infirmitie, and the strong battel that continually ye feght, and calles to my mynd how small comfort yow have in earth, I am compelled to sob and grone to Him that only may give strength, comfort, and consolation, without help of any creature unto yow in these moste dolorous dayes. And good hope I have that my petition shall not be repelled, but, for Christ Jesus' sake accepted and graunted; albeit not in suche sort as yow and I most gladely wold, yet, I dout not, but in suche sort we shall obteane it, as his glorie and our everlasting comfort and proffeit requyreth. It hes not bene without the most speciall provydence and favoures of God, that these many dayes bypast yow have bene grevously tempted, and sore assaulted, to revolt and turne back agane to that abhominable and blaspheamous idolatrie, which now in

The moste part of John Knox's preaching in the last dayes of King Edward was of trouble approching.

I praise my God he hes shawen his mercy on her and me, in dispyte of Sathan, if my battall wer at an end as hers is.

[1] This letter is already printed in vol. iii. page 343. It is here subjoined, on account of the marginal notes, and the special allusion to it by Knox in his preceding address "To the faithful Reader."

God's anger is erected, before the uttermost of his plaigues be powred furth upon the stubburne and inobedient, which never wold delyte in the treuth of his word, and, therfor of his just judgmentes, most justly hes he given them over, according to there heartes desyre, to delyte in lies, to their eternall condempnation. In the dayes, I say (dearly beloved Mother), that no apperance there was that ever such abhominationes should have taken place so suddanely within this Realme of England, yow wer tempted, and assaulted to turne back agane to idolatrie; whiche tempting spirite God our heavenly Father, permitted to trouble yow, partly for that he wold have yow exercised in the battell, before the great danger approched, least, (perchance), that ye might have bene overthrowen, if inprouydedly bothe occasion and temptation at ones had assaulted yow; and partly, that by continuall repugnance, ye might learne how odious is all kynd of idolatrie in the sight of God. For Sathan useth seldome to tempt but in those thingis wherewith he knoweth God moste to be offended; as pryde, lust, covetousnes, adulterie, idolatrie, and such others; the committers whereof (and continuers in the same), pronunces Paule to have no portion in the kingdome of God.

2. *Thess.* 2. *ver.* 10.

Let England yet tak head; for the last Mary shalbe worse then the firste, if Papistes proceid.

Nota.

Maistres Elizabeth Bowes, tempted still and yet feghting.

Galath. 5.

This is my hope (beloved Mother), that in your continuall battell, so far ye have profited, that in this case, almost, ye nead no admonition of me. But becaus it is my bounden dewtie, not only by a common Christiane cheritie, but also for that moste unfeaned familiaritie and tender love (according to godlynes), that we have kept, sence our first acquentance, to do the uttermoste of my power for your comfort; by pen, therefore will I wryte (becaus the bodyes be now put asunder, to mete agane at Godes plesure), that which by mouth

I had maid a faithful promise, before witnes, to Marjorie Bowes her doughter; and so as she tuk me for sone, I hartly imbraced her as my mother.[1]

[1] See *supra*, vol. iii. p. 334.

and face to face ye have often hard. If man or angell shall laubour to bring yow back from the profession that ones ye have given, let them (in that behalf) be accursed, and in no part (concerning your faith and religion) obeyed of yow. If any trouble yow above measure (whether they be Magistrates or carnall freindes), they shall beare their just condempnation, onles they suddanly repent: but whosoever it be that shal provoke or solist yow to that abhominable idol, resist yow all such boldely to the end; learning of the Holy Ghost not to defyle the temple of God with idolles, nether yet to give your bodylie presence unto them, but, obeying God more then man, avoide all apperance of iniquitie.

The necessitie that all man hath so to do (that willingly will not deceave him self), I remit partly to that which oft yow have hard, and, partly, to a generall letter, by me written in great anguissie of heart, to the Congregationis;[1] of whome I hear say a great part, under pretence that they may kepe faith secrete in the heart and yet do as idolaters do, beginneth now to fall before that idoll. But oh, allace! blinded and deceaved are they as they shall knowe in the Lordes sharpe visitation, which, so assuredly as our God liveth, shall shortly apprehend those back-starters amongis the myddes of idolaters. With the verray greaf of heart I wryte: better it had bene unto them never to have knowen the treuth, then so suddanely, with Godes great dishonour, to have returned to their vomet. God, of his infinite mercy grant unto them suddane repentance; for if the sin sleap long, I feare it shall awalke to their perpetuall confusion. But now, deare Mother, comfort yow my heart (God grant ye may) in this my great afflictioun and dolorous pilgramage. Continew stoutly to the end, and bow yow never before that idoll, and so will the rest of worldlie troubles to me be more toller-

Frequent letters written by Johne Knox, to declyne from idolatrie.

Let treuth this day speak of mo then one or two within that Realme.

Johne Knox requeast to his mother in his exyle.

[1] This was Knox's "Faithful Admonition," etc., contained in vol. iii. pp. 257-320.

able. With my owen heart I oft common ;[1] yea, and, as it wer comforting my self, I appeare to triumph, that God shall never suffer yow to fall in that rebuke. Sure I am, that bothe yow wolde fear and eshame to commit that abhomination in my presence, who am but a wretched man, subject to sin and miserie lyke to yourself. But (oh, dear Mother), though no earthlie creature should be offended with yow, yet fere yow the presence and offence of him, who, present in all places, searches the verray heart and raynes; whose indignation, ones kendilled against the inobedient (and no sin more inflammeth his wraith then idolatrie doth), no creature in heaven nor yet in earth (that only is creature), is able to appease the same. And therefore, dear Mother, avoide and fle from it even as from the death everlasting. Verray love and carefull sollicitude (whiche God knoweth), my heart taketh for yow, compelleth me so oftentymes to dowble and rehearse one thing, being uncertane when God shall graunt any opportunitie to visite yow agane. But the spirite of the Lord Jesus shall, by his owen omnipotent (and yet invinsible) power, supplie in yow that which lacketh of worldly comfort, that the glorie may be knowen to be Godes alone; who, for a tyme, useth to comfort, susteane, and fead one creature by another, but in the end he draweth us (his owen image) unto him self, that by him alone, without the help of all other, we may live, rejoyce, regne, and triumph, as He hes promysed by Jesus Christ his Sone. *Joan.* 16.

I praise his mercy who suffered me not to be deceaved.

Approbation of sin excuses not before God.

One thing will I not conceale from yow, deare Mother, that nether are we sure, nether yet in our heartes, can we glorifie God, as our dewtie requyreth, so long as that we have the carnall comfort and defence of creatures with us. *Nota.* The hole man, in body and saule, shall evidentlie prove this conclusioun. For that body, that liveth by meat, drink, sleap, clothing, and nurishement, we se it subject to infir-

[1] "Common," commune.

mitie, yea, to mutabilitie and sin, as the finall death of all man declareth: and the saule, even of Goddes verray elect, living by the lively worde of the hevinly Father, having a teacher that caries fleshe, is alwayes flowing and troubled with some feare, as in Christes Apostles and many others most manifestly we ar instructed. But when *Nota.* all earthly creature ceases, then shall the sufficiencie of Godes Spirite wirk his owen work. And, therefore (beloved Mother), feare not the battell that ye susteane, *The feare of that godlie woman.* nether yet the infirmitie that ye find either in fleshe or spirite; only absteane from external iniquitie, that yow make not your members servandes to sin, *Nota.* and your imperfection shal have no power to dampne yow; for Christes perfection is reputed to be youres by faith, which ye have in his bloode. Be assured (Mother), I willingly wolde not deceave yow: if any such infirmitie wer dampnable, long ago I wold have shawed you the treuth. But no more then God is displeased, albeit sometymes the body be seak, and subject to diseases—no more is he offended albeit the saule in that case be diseased and seak. And as the naturall *Note the similitude.* father will not kyll the body of the chyld, albeit through seaknes it faint, and abhorre comfortable meates; no more (and muche les) will our heavenly Father kyll our saules, albeit, through spiritual infirmitie and weaknes of our faith, sometymes we refuse the lively foode of his com- *Nota.* fortable promises. Where contempt of God is by his grace removed, and a love of justice and of the lyfe to come ingrafted in the heart, there is the infallible seal and testimonie of the Holy Ghost, who shall performe his owen work in *2 Corin. 12.* dew season; for the power of God is knowen in our infirmitie; and thus commit I yow to the protection of him who by grace hes called yow from darknes to light; by faith hes purged your conscience and heart, and of his fre mercy shall glorifie yow, according to his promise made unto those that obedientlie

receave the message of lyfe, in Christ Jesus our Lord. Whose omnipotent spirite rest with yow for ever and ever. *Joan.* 3.

At Deip, the 20th of Julij, 1554; after that I had visited Geneva, and other parts, and returned to Deip to learne the estate of England.

Postscript.—My owen estate can I not well declare; but God shall guyde the footesteppes of him that is wilsome, and shall fead him in trouble, that never greatly sollisted for the worlde. If any collection might be made amonges the faithfull, it wer no shame to me to receave that which Paule refused not in his trouble. But all I remit to His provydence, that careth for his owen: Rest yet in Christ.

Youre Sone, with troubled heart,

JOHNE KNOX.

LETTERS, ETC.,

DURING THE LATER PERIOD OF KNOX'S LIFE.

M.D.LXIII.—M.D.LXXII.

In this division I have attempted to bring together such letters and papers as relate to the closing period of the Reformer's life. During these ten years, from 1563 to 1572, many important events had taken place, in which Knox was personally concerned. Unfortunately his friendly and familiar correspondence with Mrs. Anna Lock here terminates, or has not been preserved, in which he was likely to have expressed his personal feelings in regard to such events. But his dispersed letters which have been recovered, although comparatively few in number, and wholly unconnected, are by no means unimportant. One or two of them ought perhaps to have formed a separate division, with those already printed, which were written by him at the desire of the General Assembly. Yet it is of little moment in what part of this volume such letters may occur, while it was desirable to avoid any unnecessary subdivisions, at the same time adhering as closely as possible to strict chronological order.

The following letters do not require any special introductory notice. Unless otherwise stated, the originals are preserved in H. M. State Paper Office, now transferred to the Record Office, Chancery Lane, London. They exhibit Knox in his declining years, pressed down by bodily infirmity, and groaning still more heavily in spirit at the lawless and distracted state of public affairs; as the French influence which predominated in the Queen's councils, and the atrocious events which followed each other in such rapid succession, served to retard the progress and darken the prospects that had dawned so brightly on the Reformed Church. Exposed as Knox was to the vilest

calumnies, the deep attachment of his flock, during all his troubles, must at least have afforded to his mind no small consolation.

At occasional intervals, and more especially when laid aside from his ministerial duties, Knox employed himself in completing the Four Books of his History of the Reformation to the year 1564. It is elsewhere stated, as probable, that the Fifth Book was compiled from his papers.[1] We find at least, that, so late as 1571, he was collecting materials for the continuation of his History, and that, at the time of his decease, his papers and scrolls were in the hands of his faithful assistant or secretary, RICHARD BANNATYNE, who presented a Supplication respecting them to the General Assembly in March 1572-3. A small pension was granted to encourage him to proceed in arranging and transcribing these materials. It was to this circumstance that we are indebted for the existence of a volume of some importance, which was first published by Sir John Graham Dalyell, under this title, "Journal of Transactions in Scotland, during the contest between the Adherents of Queen Mary, and those of her Son, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573. By Richard Bannatyne, Secretary to John Knox." Edinburgh, 1806, 8vo. And again, from a more perfect MS., by Mr. Robert Pitcairn, as "Memorials of Transactions in Scotland, A.D. 1569—A.D. 1573. By Richard Bannatyne, Secretary to John Knox. Printed at Edinburgh, 1836." 4to, pp. xxxii., 414.

As Bannatyne's work has thus been rendered accessible in a printed form, I have confined my selections to the portions that have a personal relation to Knox, including some letters written by or addressed to him, not elsewhere preserved. These selections form a more suitable termination to the Reformer's Works, than if larger portions of these Memorials had been thrown into an Appendix.

[1] *Supra*, vol. ii. p. 168.

LETTERS, ETC.

(*Continued from page* 148.)

LXVII.—Knox to Archibald Earl of Argyle.

The Lord cometh and shall not tarie.

After commendations of my service to your Lordship. . . . In haist, from Glasgow, the seventh of Maii 1563.

Your Lordships to command in all godliness,

John Knox.

(See vol. ii. p. 377.[1])

LXVIII.—Knox to James Earl of Murray.—May 1563.

(See vol. ii. p. 382.[2])

LXIX.—Extracts—Randolphe to Sir William Cecill.

To-morrowe, the xvith of thys instant, the Quene departethe of thys towne towards Edenbourge. If my happe be good, you shall shortlie here some merrie tydings of the Bysshope of St. Androws; upon Wensdaye next he shalbe arrayned, and five other prestes, for their massinge at Easter laste. Thus moste humblye I tayke my leave.

At St. Androws, the xvth of Maye 1563.

[1] See vol. ii. p. 375, footnote 3, for a notice of the Countess of Argyle, on whose behalf the above letter was written. In Calderwood's ms., 1636, are the following various readings:—Vol. ii. p. 377, l. 11 of the letter, No more repugnancie. l. 21, Her proud stubbornesse. l. 24, Some cryme. Next page, l. 16, Shall turne unto yow to a yeares displeasure. l. 21, Since then, your filthie pleasure, although sweet in drinking, be more bitter then the gall in digesting, I pray the eternall God move your heart.

[2] This letter is only known from the extract of it given by Knox himself, and repeated by Calderwood.

YOUR Honour wyll tayke yt for a wonder to here, that the Archebysshope of St. Androws had yesterdaye xii newe godfathers: the shyfte that he coulde fynde was to put hym self in the Quenes wyll. Thys daye he is enterde into the Castle of Edenbourge. Ther are also condemned the Priour of Whythorne, an notable archepapyste, and five other prestes as wicked as he. The Abbot of Corserogall[1] was sommonde, and for his absence shalbe put unto the horne. Thys mervileus plague is latlie befawlen upon the clargie that theie knowe not where to hyde their heades. Many of them are cropen into Englande.

At Edenbourge, the xxvth of Maye 1563.

MAY it please your Honour, the fyrste of thys instante I arrived here in Edenbourge. I harde, by the waye, that the Quene was at Cragmillour, but that the Lorde of Murray and the L. of Lidington were then presentlye in thys towne. To those I addressed me fyrste, as well to knowe somewhat as to mayke an entrie unto suche purposes as I sholde have with the Quene at my commynge. I fynde nothynge in them that myslyked me, nor no dyscourragemente why I sholde not boldelye attempte the Quene herself, so farre as I had warrante unto. I dyned that daye with them in the compaynie of the moste parte of the nobilitie then presente. I founde in them all good lykynge of my retorne. I receaved maynie good words, and gave as maynie. We repayre all togyther after dynner towardes the Quene. The honour I receaved at my arrivall myghte have contented a myche greater personage. The Quenes Majesties letters were gratfullye and thankefullye receaved. At good lengthe (or as well as I coulde) I declared my Sovereign's mynde geven me in my instructions, in utteringe whearof maynie interruptions were made by the Quene herself, and maynie questions demaunded, so that scharce in one houre I coulde utter that that myght have byne spoken in one quar-

[1] See also *supra*, p. 156.

ter. I knowe not yet her Grace's lykynge of the matter. She willed me to confer as I had done with her self, with my Lorde of Murraye and Lorde of Lidingeton, and desyered that no man myght be farther made of Counselle. I accorded ther unto.

At Edenbroughe, the iiijth of September 1563.[1]

(THE Assembly of the Lords, for three causes) . . . . The thyrde cawse is, that the Quene fyndethe her greeved with a letter that Mr. Knox wrote unto hys brethrene the prechers, to assyst two honest men of the Congregation, whome the Quene wolde have had punished, for troblinge a prest that, her Grace beinge in Argile, saide masse unto the reste of her howseholde remayninge in the Abbaye of Hollie-roode howse.[2]

At Edenbroughe, the xxj of December 1563.

FOR newes yt maye please your Honor to knowe, that the Lord Treasurer of Scotlande,[3] for gettinge of a woman with chylde, muste, upon Sondaye nexte, do open penance before the whole Congregation, and Mr. Knox mayke the sermonde. Thys my Lorde of Murraye wylled me to wryte unto your Honour for a note of our griate severitie in punyshinge of offenders.

At Edenbroughe, the last of December 1563.

LXX.—KNOX TO THE BRETHREN OF THE CONGREGATION.

Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

IT is not unknowen to you, deare Brethren . . . .

Frome Edenburgh, the ix of October 1563.

(*Indorsed*)—Mr. Knox to the Brytherene of the Congregation.[4]

(See vol. ii. pp. 395-397.)

[1] Randolph had just returned from England to Holyrood, having been sent for by Queen Elizabeth, to receive information from him on the subject of the Scottish Queen's marriage.

[2] See Knox, vol. ii. p. 403, note 2.

[3] The person here mentioned was Mr. Robert Richardson, Commendator of St. Mary's Isle, of whom a short notice is given in the footnote, vol. i. p. 372. See also a subsequent page of the present volume.

[4] Several copies of this missive must have been written. One of these, un-

LXXI.--KNOX TO SIR WILLIAM CECILL.

The spreit of righteous judgement assist yow in all your godlie business.

YF I could be persuaded, ryght Wirshipfull, that the most part of our counsellouris war not all readdy so voyde of grace that secreatly thei have consented to that which in the end shalbe thare owen distruction, and also shall hasard the quiettness of thare nyghtbouris, my care and fear in that behalf war both att ane end; but becaus I understand more then I am assured ye do in that secreat, ye please not to be offended albeit I fear as befor, unto such tym as I fynd my self releaved by my God. Of twelve I know, nyne have consented to set fordwards whatsoever may please the demander; and yit agane I write, that yf better hand be not holden to that mater by tymes, the greatter part will draw the better over the score, and that or it be long. Ye shall receave, as I understand, answeris pleasing yneuht att this tym, but what is ment tym will witness. Yf the man most inward with you, and dear unto me for those graces that God hath bestowed upon him, be such as both our hartes wishe him to be, then will the few nomber that yit remane uncorrupted, strive for a seasson against the fors of the blinded multitud; but and yf hie follow the contrary faction (be it directlie, or be it indirectlie), then assure yourself that the rage of that storme shall anes ouerthrow the fors of the stronngest; and yit I lytill fear for my awen part; for I prase my God I have laid my compt, and fyndes my hole[1] debtis discharged by

signed, in the State Paper Office, is dated 9th October. There are some slight verbal differences, but not sufficient to require notice. Knox (vol. ii. p. 393) has given a particular account of the event which occasioned the above letter, and the charges made against himself for writing it; viz., Patrick Cranstoun and others having, on Sunday the 15th August 1563, during Queen Mary's absence, made a forcible entrance into the Chapel Royal, to prevent the priest saying mass; but it is sufficient to refer to the notes relating to this occurrence, contained in vol. ii. pp. 393-400.

[1] "Hole," whole.

Jesus Christ, except that which is appointed to all flesch, which I daly thrust for. But the multitud of these calamiteis that I see appearing to fall upon this yle, and all becaus the inordinat affections of hyr that is born to be a plague to this realme, ar followed without contradiction (maid by such who of dewty ar bounden to procure the rest and commoditie of thare commonwealht). The forsight, I say, of appearing calamiteis is to me more fearfull then ten corporall deahts. The conveying of the Mess throuht those quarteris which longest have bein best reformed, hath so dejected the hartis of many, that men appear not to have that coraige thei had befor. Thus have ye the plainnes of my troubled hart, use it as ye will ansuer to God, and as ye tender your commounwealht. The sufficiencye of the bringar will instruct you in all other thingis. I pray you remember my weak judgement concernyng the furnissing of these Norht Bordoris. The Eternall assist you with his principall Spreit now and ever.

Of Edinburgh, the 6 of October 1563.

Youris to command in godliness,

JOHN KNOX.

The Ynch, betuix Leyht and Kinggorne,[1] is left woid.[2] What straunge foules shall first lyght thare, God knoweht. Our lusty bloodis will to Fraunce, whetther God will or not. Judge what shall follow.

To the ryght wirshipfull Sir William Cicell, Knyght, cheaf Secretarie to the Quenis Majestie of England.

Deliver these att Court, or ellis whare in England.

[1] The island of Inchkeith, about the middle of the Firth of Forth, between Leith and Kinghorn, was taken possession of and fortified by the English in 1547. It was retaken by the French auxiliary troops on Corpus Christi day, 29th June 1549, and continued to be held by a French garrison till after the death of Mary of Lorraine, Queen-Dowager, in June 1560, when its fortifications were demolished.

[2] "Woid," void, deserted.

LXXII.—Knox to Lord Robert Dudley.[1]

The Father of all mercies mak you feall the sweet odour of hi grace, which by his Holie Spreit floweht to mankynd fron Jesus Christ, &c. Amen.

Seing that it hath pleased your honour to call me to tha familiaritie, that by writeing I may conferr with your Lordshi men myght judge me more then foolish yf I should lyghtli esteame so great a benefitt, or yit neglect the opportunitie s liberallie offerred: one thing I fear, that my writeingis att al tymes shall be unto you more faschious nor confortable, bu as att comand I begyn, so upon the sam I shall gladly desist and yit, befor I enter in any farther familiarite, I man protes that it be in Jesus Christ, for without him ye shall esteam n favour of man. God hath placed you in favour, credith, an in some authoritie, by which ye may greatlie advance th puritie of religion, yf uprightlie ye will apply your witts an power thereto. I am not ignorant that ye shall have man hinderars, and that many terrible blocks shalbe cast befor you feitt, yf you ones purpos openly to walk in that straitt way tha leadeht to lyef; but, my Lord, yf this sentence of your Go shalbe printed in your hart, "Farr be it from me (saieht th Eternall), but that I shall glorifye such as glorifye me;" yf thi sentence, I say, be surelie persuaded unto your hart, and of remembred, as it becomeht, ye shall easely overcome tentation and dangers that appear most difficill: and this for my protes tacion. Becaus the sufficiencye of the bearer is able faythfull to reaport the estate of all common effares heir, I shall troubl your Lordship for the present only with tuo headis, the on con-

[1] Lord Robert Dudley, a favourite of Queen Elizabeth, who, at Sir William Cecill's suggestion, recommended him to Mary Queen of Scots for an husband. He was created Earl of Leicester in 1564. The English Queen was unquestionably insincere in this proposed marriage, originating, as Chalmers asserts in "the malignity of Cecill, to involve the man whom he hated in difficult predicament between the tw Queens."

cerneht of our Nobilitie, the other the faythfull diligence of my dear Brethren, the trew preacheris, with yow. Trew it is, my Lord, that zeall, joyned with knowledg, ones appeared in a great part of our nobilitie; but allace, to the greif of many hartes, it is now judged to be waxen cold, whether it be be reasson of this laitt calme and tranquillitie, in the which every man seakeht to build his own hous, and to mack him selfe great, having small care to re-edify the hous of God: whether this, I say, be the caus, or whether becaus, from the begynnyng thei sought not the treuht, but their owen advantage, I know not, God knoweht: but this is most certen, that there appears no suche fervencye in the most part of our Nobilitie (our courteours ar coldest) as somtymes I have sein. Yea, I am eschamed and confounded within myself, when I considder so great mutacion within so schort a space; and yet my hope is, that for his mercies saik God shall preserve some evn unto the end. I prase my God, throught Jesus Christ, that it pleaseht him to mack his woord to be effectuall in the mouhtes of many within this yle; but allace, my Lord, when that I hear that grosse superstition is manteaned, and vane ceremonies ar required in this greatte [tyme?] of Christ's evangill, I can not but lament, doubting in whome the falt consisteht. For the present I will compleane no farther, but concluding, I pray my God, that for Christ Jesus his Sones saik, that it will please him so to assist all that travell in the gospell of Jesus Christ, that thei may leave a testimony to this present most wicked generation, and unto the posteritie to cum, that the zeall of his hous eateht up in thame all carnall affections.

It may be that heirafter I comprehend your Lordship, my Lord President of Wales, and my Lord Secretary, in on letter; for I suppos that in the publict effares ye all be of on mynd, and of on secrecye, but heirintill I will use your Lordship's owen advysses. Of Capitaine Cockburn, his larg commission, of his articles and ansuer, I suppos the bearer can sufficiently instruct

your Lordship. Mentime . . . promessed, and our [fooles and murderars ?][1] . . .

And thus I hartlie wishe unto your honor prosperitie, and stabilitie in Jesus Christ, to whose protection I committ your Lordship. Of Edenburgh, [the 6th] of October 1563.

Your Lordship to commaund in Jesus Christ,

JOHN KNOX.

To the ryght honorable lord, my Lord Robert Dudley,

Be these delivered att the Court in England.

LXXIII.—EXTRACTS—RANDOLPH TO SIR WILLIAM CECILL.

I am requiered by the Lord of Lidington to desier your Honour, that yf ther be a statute that contayneth all the cases of a Premunire, that yt wyll pleas your Honour to let hym have a coppie. I knowe yt is ment for the wele of the Prelates. Yt is saide that Mr. Elmer[2] made answer to the terrible Blaste of the Trompet. The Lord of Lidingeton also hartelye desyerethe to have yt . . . .

Your Honour wyll tayke yt for a great wonder, when I shall wryte unto you that MR. KNOX shall marrie a verrie nere kynswoman of the Duke's, a lord's daughter, a young lasse, not above xvi yeares of age.[3] I rather thynke you wyll laughe at my madnes thus to wryte so great an unlykelye a matter then that you wyll beleeve that yt is trewe. One Paule Meffane,[4] a preacher, brought up under Mr. Coverdall, who married an

[1] This letter has been deciphered with some difficulty, owing to its having been much injured with damp and attempts to restore the faded writing.

[2] John Aylmer, Bishop of London. In 1559, he published anonymously "An Harborowe, etc., against the Late Blowne Blast, concerning the Government of Wemen." See vol. ii. pp. 26, 278; and vol. iv. p. 354.

[3] "The age of this young lasse" probably occasioned the marriage to be postponed till the following year. (See next page.)

[4] Paul Methven, originally a baker in Dundee, turned preacher, and was a zealous Reformer. He was appointed minister of Jedburgh in 1560. When the scandal arose, Knox was charged by the General Assembly, 30th December 1562, to examine its truth. In June 1563 he reported that this trial

Englishe woman, minister of Gedbroughe, is convicted of manifeste advouterie. He is escaped into Englande, or, as some saye, drowned in a boate goynge over the water thytherwarde. The Erle of Morton is created Lord Chanceler. I dowte not nowe but we shall have good justice.

The venerable Prelate of St. Andrews hathe byne in thys towne. I thought to have harde when he sholde have byne committed unto the Castle for sayinge and heringe of masse, and refusinge to paye the thyrde of hys benefice to the mayntaynance of the ministers and poore. He is dimissed in hope of amendement; and for suche faultes with us are sildom puneshed.

At Edenbroughe, the xxii. of Januarie 1562[-3].

MR. KNOX hathe byne twyse proclaymede in the churche, to be married upon Palme Sondaye to Margaret Stewarde, dawghter to the Lord Ocletrie,[1] whear at the Quene stormethe wonderfullye, for that she is of the bludde and name. Yf she keape promes, he shall not byde in Scotlande. Yf I be not deceaved, ther wilbe myche a doe before he leave yt. In thys, I wyshe that he had done otherwyse. Leavinge farther to troble your honour at thys tyme, moste humblye I take my leave.

At Edinbourghe, the xviii of Marche 1563[-4].

THER shalbe also a newe reformation of the thyrdes of the benefices to be payde unto the preachers. The Abbot of Corsrogall is dede,[2] and the Kenedies reddie to fall by the eares for hys good. Mr. George Bouchanan hathe geven unto hym by the Quene the whole temporalities of that Abbacie: with spiritualities he wyll not meddle, bycause he can not preache. The Quene wolde have made hym Abbot.

At Edenbourge, the xxiiiith of October 1564.

had taken place, and that Methven was removed from his ministerial charge, and excommunicated. See vol. i. p. 300; vol. ii. pp. 87, 364. His repentance and supplication in June 1566, to be restored, is noticed in vol. ii. p. 531.

[1] Andrew Lord Stewart of Ochiltree.

[2] Quintine Kennedy, see *supra*, p. 153.

LXXIV.—Mr. John Spottiswood Superintendant of Lotheane, John Knox and John Craig, Ministers of Edinburgh, to the Most Reverend Fathers in God, the Archebusshops of Canterbury and York, desyre the perpetuall increase of the Holie Spirit, etc.

Becaus that, in the Generall Assemblie of the Churche of Scotland, begun at Edinburgh the xxvth of Decembre 1563, and there contynewed certen dayes, aftre it was compleyned by oure brother, John Baroune, minister of Christe Jesus his Evangile,[1] upon Anne Goodacre, sometymes his wyfe, that she, aftre great rebellion shewen unto him, and aftre divers admonitions geven, as well by himself as by others in his name, that she should in no wyse departe from this realme, nor frome his house without his lycence, haeth not the less stubbornlie and rebelliouslie departed, seperated herself frome his societie, left his house, and withdrawne herself frome this realme, as the said John's complaint more fullie doth proport: The hole Assemblie, as well

[1] Some particulars respecting Baron may be added. From the Council Registers of Geneva, we learn that he was the son of Andrew Baron, and was a native of Edinburgh. When enrolled as a resident at Geneva, he is called a student, 14th October 1557. He was then married, but his wife's name is not specified, and had a daughter, Susanna, baptized 17th August 1557, who died 26th October in the following year. John Baron was received a free burgess of the city, 21st June 1558, and had a son named Gehut. He appears to have taken some charge of printing Knox's Treatise on Predestination.—(See Extracts, 13th November 1559, *supra*, vol. v. p. 16*.)

On the 8th March 1560, John Baron acknowledged to the magistrates of Geneva the kindness he had received, and asked permission to return to his country of Scotland, where, he said, the Gospel is preached, but he desired still to continue a burgess. His request was granted.

Upon Baron's return to Scotland, he published in 1562 a translation from the French of the Answer made by Theodore Beza to an Oration, and certain Articles of the Cardinall of Lorraine. In the following year he became the minister of the parish of Galston (pronounced Gawstone) in Ayrshire, where he appears to have remained till Candlemas, or February 1566 7. He was then translated to Quhytherne or Whitehorn in Galloway. It is added, in the "Register of Ministers," etc., 1567 (pp. 39-48), "but he departed this life 1568."

as the Nobilitie, as of the Superintendants, Ministers, and Commissioners of Churches, gave to us commandement and charge, as by this other acte youre wisdomes more clearelie may perceive, humblie to request and pray you, whome God of his providence and mercie haith erected as principalles in Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction within the realme of Englande, that it wold please you, and either of you, within your jurisdictions, to caus, by publique edictes, or els personallie apprehended, summond, charge, and warne the foresaid Anne to compere before the said Superintendants, Ministers, and Session of Edinburgh, in their Consistorie, the saxtie day aftre your summondes. WE therefore, in the name of the eternall God, of his Sonne Jesus Christe, and as ye desyre synne to be punisshed, and as your fellow-servants in Christe Jesus, to serve you, or any of you, in the like case, most humblie requyre you to caus your edicts to be published in all such places as you know them to be expedient, chargeing the said Anne to compere before the Session of Edinburgh, in the accustomed place of their assemblie, the xxvth day of May next to cum, to ansuer by herself, and not by her procurator, to suche crymes as shalbe layd to her charge by her said husband, and by us, for her rebellious departing, and other crymes that may be suspected to have ensewed there upon: With certification to her, that if she compere not the said day and place, we will procede and minister justice at the said John's instance according to God's worde. Forther, we moste humblie desyre you to remitte to us, upon the expense of the said John compleyneour, this our act of the Generall Assemblie, together with your edicts or summondes duelie executed and indorsed in authentik forme. Which doing, as we doubt not, you shall please the Eternall God, and discharge that part of youre godlie office, so shall you binde us to the like or greater service, when soever it shall plais you or any pastour within that realme to charge any of us. And thus we desyre the Lorde Jesus, that great and onelie Pas-

tour of the shepe, so to reull your heartes and oures, that we with one mynde and one mowthe, may unfeynedlie seke the advancement of His name, the comfort of his troubled flocke the mainteyning of vertue and suppressing of vice; that it will so please Him to blesse our common laubours in this his last harvest by the power of his Holie Spirit; that in the same His glorie may be illustrate, His chosen edified, and our consciences discharged. Amen.

From Edinburgh, this tenth of February 1563[-4].

Your loving Brethren in Christe Jesus, and fellow-servantes in His holie Evangile.

M. Jo. SPOTTISWOD, Superintendant of Lotheane
JOHN KNOX, Minister of Christ Jesus His holie Evangill.
JOHNE CRAIG, Minister of Christes Evangile.
J. GRAY.

We understand that the wicked and rebellious woman, aftre her unlawfull departing from her husband, remayned for a season at York.[1]

To the Right Reverend Father in Christe, th' Archebusshop of Cantorbury, Primate of all Englond, or, in his absence to his Chancelor, Officiall, Commissare, or Vicegerent in the Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall of the Province of Cantorbury.

[1] The occasion of this letter or message to the Archbishops in England, as Strype remarks, "was pretty strange and hardly weighty enough for the cognisance of so solemn an assembly."—(Life of Parker, p. 149.) Upon receiving the above letter, and the extract from the Assembly Records, Archbishop Parker, on the 14th of April 1564, enclosed them to Sir William Cecill, to ascertain his opinion in regard to such a request. The first portion of his letter may be quoted, from the Parker Correspondence, p. 209:—

"ARCHBISHOP PARKER, 14th April 1564, to SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

"SIR,—Where of late was sent to me these letters enclosed, to such effect as your honour may perceive, for that I am in doubt how agreeable it were for me to satisfy such request, I am bold to pray your honour to impart your counsel to me, the rather for that it may seem

LXXV.—Act of the General Assembly.

At Edinburgh, the xxixth day of December 1563.

The same day anent the request and supplication geven in the Generall Assemblie, by John Baronne, minister of the Kirk of Gawston, bearing in effect how Anne Goodacre being his married wyfe, had of her owne wickednes and evill counsell departed from his house here in Edinburgh, in June last bepast, withoute his licence (he being in the Calston, shortway from this town), towardes the realme of Englonde, notwithstanding his lettres directed unto her requyring and charging her to remayn, notwithstanding also the requestes of dyvers brethren to whom he also had written to request and charge her in his name to remayne to his returninge; not the les the said Anne had departed oute of this realme towarde Englonde, to his great greif and heartes sorowe: and therfore moste humelie requested the maiste honorable Privie Counsell there assembled, with the rest of the nobilitie, the superintendants, ministers, commissioners of provinces and kirks, to give unto him their advise, counsell, and direction, by what meanes he might be at libertie frome the foresaid wicked woman, according to the precise reull of God's worde, as at mair lenght was conteyned in the said John's supplication.

The Assemblie ordeyned lettres to be directed to the Archebusshops of Cantorbury and Yorke, in name of the haile Assemblie, subscribed by the Superintendant of Lowthean, John Knox, Mr. John Craig, ministers of Edinburgh, and the scribe of the Assemblie, requesting them, *vicissitudinis causa*, that they should cause edicts to be proclaimed in ether of their boundes, or personal citation, to be executed against the said Anne Goodacre, that she should compere before the Superintendant of Lowthean, and Session of the Kirk of Edinburgh, the sextie daye after their citation or edict's execution, by her self, and not by her pro-

to touch the state and order of the realm.

"The request, in my opinion, is strange, for that this *vicissitudo* is used at the request of them which agnise one superior governor as subjects of one realm or empire; and is also used where the abode or continuance of the party to be called is certainly known, in whose territory the party continueth. And doubtful it is to me by what authority these requesters do exercise their conference, for they make no mention of their warrant or commission. And, further, I take that the party is not bound to obey any such commandement of the Archbishops in England to appear in Scotland, the case as it is. And some doubt may rise whether they go about to practise a precedent by our assents to divorce the parties, and to license the innocent to marry again."

This application in favour of John Baron seems to have produced no effect. It was by no means likely that the Archbishops would concur, either by public edicts or personally, to apprehend, summon, and proceed against Anne Goodacre, in consequence of this complaint.

curator, to answer to sicke things as the said John Baron, hir husband, should lay to her charge, and further, to answer as law will; with certification, that if she compere not the said day and place, the said Superintendant and Session will procede and minister justice against her at the said John's instance, according to God's word, &c.

Gevin in the Generall Assemblie of the Kirke of Scotland, and fourth session thereof, day, year, and place aforesaid.

Extracted oute of the register of the said Generall Assemblie, by me, JOHN GRAY,[1] *scrybe to the same, quhilk I certifie by this my subscription and signet accustomed.* J. GRAY.

LXXVI.—RANDOLPH TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

MAYE it please your Majestie that it may not be imputed unto over greate boldenes, that at this present I write unto your Majestie not havinge anie matter of certayne knowledge, but onlie by the reporte of other; which I fynde by lykelihoodes to beare with it suche trothe, that I thoughte it fitter to be communicated unto your Majestie alone, then to mayke it knowne to anye other before your Majestie selfe; I send your Majestie two letteres. I thynke it a faulte hastelie to beleve, or to be over suddayne in reportes. To these I gyve the better credit, for that I knowe from whome these advertisementes come, and whoe are lyke to be the workers of these greate attemptates that are suspected: be it either to sturre trobles amongste themselves, or to bringe anye man farther of that shall move the same. More then is written in these two letteres I have not to wryte, savinge that I knowe that it hathe byne longe looked for what answer your Majestie will gyve to the laste that was sente unto your Highnes by the Quene of Scottes. I wyshe onlie that which shalbe moste to your Majesty's contentemente, and ther unto cheiflie will applie my mynde, as your Majestie, I trust, shall ever fynde with us greate trothe and good wille as any that ever was so happie to serve your Majestie, or ever did beare the name of your Majesty's servante. God,

[1] "Maister John Gray, scribe to the Generall Assemblie," died at Edinburgh in April 1574.—(Register of Confirmed Testaments.)

that hytherto hathe prospered all your Majesty's doynges to a happie ende, sende your Hyghnes no worce succes of this to your Majesty's comforte, then of what somever hathe byne moste to your Majesty's contentemente.

The cause of my long aboode here is knowne to Mr. Secretarie, to whome I have made requeste to have some goode arrante for my retorne, as also good occasion to do my duetie unto your Majestie presentlie, to no worce ende, I truste, then my will is that your Majestie sholde be served.

At Barwicke, the 5th of Maye 1564.

Your Majesty's moste humble and obbediente,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

To the Quenes Majestie my Soveregne.

LXXVII.—[KIRKALDY OF GRANGE] TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

ME LORD OF MURRAY is presently verye great, and may do quhat he will, and yit his Lordship is determenit to tak no charg upon hym, without he se mair constancye nor he hes found in tymes past; for my own part, I reseve good wordis with good contenances, for they have said to me they wald be glaid to do me pleisour. Rolletis newis ar keipeit very closs, quhilke maketh us to lyk them the better. The farthest I can learn is, and it is trew in deid, he wes not very welcum to the Quene mother, quhome now our Quene begynneth altogyther to myslyk, and we ar lyk to get litell freindscheip frome that part. Also, our Quene begynnes to complane upon her oncles unkyndnes, and says, Seyng that thay have no respect to hir weill, scho will do the best scho can for hir self. This muche I learnet of the Frenche man, as to the Kyngis goyng to Barleduce and Lyons with the dead of Marshall Brisac. I dout not bot ye have hard therof. The Erll of Lenox will obtene licence to cum home and speak the Quene. Hir meanyng therin is not knawing, bot sum suspectis scho sall at lentht be perswadit to

favour his sonne. And to the effect the Erll may the mair surlye cum in this cuntry, the Quene is myndit to writ to me Lord Duc, and hes alredye requested me Lord of Murray to speak the Erll of Argyll, quha, I assure you, will do litell in that mater, without he se a gretter mater lyk to tak effect nor his incuming. I cannot writ all that I thynk in this mater, bot the bottome of the stomok salbe laid abreid unto you at your meityng, and also lat you se quhow he may cum to intend. Amongis our selfis all thyngis ar presently in quyet, bot I fear it sall not be long; for thyngis begynes to grow to a rypnes, and there is great practeseris quho ar lyk to set all thyngis a loft, quhilkis ye sall also knaw at meityng. Heirfor, in the meantyme, I wald wyshe, as ye knaw I have alwayis done, that the Erll Botheill wer keipit still; for our Quene thynkis to have hym at all tymes redye to schaik out of hir pushet agaynst us Protestantis. Morower, the Quene Mother hathe writin to our Quene, that Lid. said to hir, that all that was spoken of the mariage with Spaine, was done to caus England grant to our desyris; heirfor meit us with the lyk, and that in gentill termes, quhill I speak with you, for I am in gud hope ye sall cum to your purpos, using the counseill of your brother. As for the Commissioneris that sulde meit me Lord of Bedford, I dout not bot ye will caus them be handlit accordynglie. This is mente for the day of trewe with the Laird of Cesford, wher ther are appoynted the Mr. Maxwell and Justice-Clerk.[1] The Bischope of St. Andros is desyries to speak with Mr. Knox: Judge ye quhat is lyk to fallow. The Quene dyet is to depart owt of St. Johnston, the viii of this present; bot becaus hir dyet hes bene oft alteret, I feir scho keip not this. Thar is syndre slawtheris maid be gentilmen in our low cuntreis, and our yles ar altogyther redye to break lous. The Lord rest with you.

At St. Johnston's, the last of Apryll [1564].[2]

[1] This is written on the margin.

[2] The signature of this letter, addressed "to his loving brother Mr. Randolphe," has been carefully erased. I have no doubt that the writer of the letter was Kirkcaldy of Grange.

LXXVIII.—KNOX TO THOMAS RANDOLPH.

BOHT youris ar cumen to my handis with your bow, for the which I hartelie thank you. Rollettis tydingis ar as yit buried in the breastis of two within this realme, butt Maddye telleht ws many newes: "The mess shall up, the Bischope of Glaskier and Abbot of Dunfermling come as ambassadouris from the Generall Counsall, my Lord Bothwell shall follow, with power to putt in execution whatsoever is demanded, and our Soveraine will have done; and then shall Knox and his preaching be pulled by the earis, etc." Thus with ws ravis Maddye[1] every day; but heirupon I greatlie pans[2] not. The Erle of Lenox servand is familliare in Court, and it is supposed that it is not without knowledge, yea, and laubour of your Court. Some in the countrey look for the lady and the young Erle er it be long. It is whispered to me that licence is all readdy procured for thare hitthercuming. Goddis providence is inscrutable to man, befor the ischew of such thingis as are keapt clos for a season in his counsall. But, to be plaine with you, that jorney and progress I lyke not. The Quens Majestie remanes at St. Johnston, as I heare, yit eight dayes, yea, and perchaunce longar. As for Edinburgh, it lykes the ladeis nothing. In these last schippes from Fraunce and Flanderis, I have receaved some newes, and some are comen. Certane of the salt manis lauboraris are arrived, with mattockis, schooles,[3] and certane other instrumentis; mo ar looked for. I fear thare trafique shalbe to mack salt upon salt; divin what I mean. I hear, of credible reaport, and that of such as ar prevy in the Court of France, that the jorney of Loraine goes fordward. Lettres I receaved, dated in Trois in Champanye, assuring that the King was so far in jorney, yf other impedimentis occurred not. The Papistis of Fraunce

[1] "Maddye," a name in common use at the time, and occurring in some of the ballads of Robert Sempill; one, for instance, ends—"Quod Maddie, prioress of the kaill-market." Richard Bannatyne, in his Memorials, 1570, also speaks of "Madie in our fisch merkat," etc.

[2] "Pans," I care not.

[3] "Schooles," shovels.

(of Paris especially) threatten destruction to all Protestantes. The Germans, almost in every cietie and province, amass men of war, and no man can tell att whose devotion. Yf ye know, I am content, yf not, my counsall is, ye look to it. Tuo bargeis, in forme and fassion liek hoyes, cam in our Forht above the Inch, and wewed all places, Sonnday and Monunday last. They saled from land to land, round about the Inche, but wold suffer no man to enter in thame, and so ar departed. Our solan geis use to vesy the Bass[1] befor the great cumpany tack possessioun. I say yit agane tack head. I hear (but not of certainetie) that Suaden will yit vesyt with ane ambassadour. I pray you yit agane salut my Lord of Bedfoord, of whose good mynd towardes me I never doutted, and say to his Lordship that I think I shall have as great nead of confort or it be long, as that I had when his Lordship and I last parted in London, yf God putt not end to my battell schortlie; for heir wanton and wicked will impyres as it wer above wisdom and verteu. God send remeady. And thus ye knowe a part of my mynd; and yit yf I war with you I wolde trouble you longar. My purpos is, yf God permitt, to be in Langton the 5, 6, and 7 of May; you may appoint the place, and I will meitt you, whome the Eternall preserve. Of Edinburgh, the 3 of this instant, [May] 1564.

Salut in my name Mr. Boistock and the Italian, to whome great busines suffer me not to write.

Youris to his power,

JOHN KNOX.

To the ryght wirshipfull Mr. Randolphe, agent for the Quenes Majestie of England for the effaris of Scotland. Att Baruik. Be these delivered.

LXXIX.—EXTRACTS, BISHOP GRINDAL TO HENRY BULLINGER, ZURICH.

But enough of our affairs. Things in Scotland are not so

[1] The Bass Rock, within two miles of the coast of East Lothian, still frequented during the season by myriads of solan geese, and other sea-fowl.

well established as we could wish. The churches indeed still retain the pure confession of the Gospel; but the Queen of Scotland seems to be doing all in her power to extirpate it. She has lately given orders that six or seven Popish masses should be celebrated daily in her Court, where all are admitted who choose to attend; whereas she was till now content with only one mass, and that a private one, no Scotsman being allowed to be present. Moreover, when the Reformation first began, it was provided, that out of the estates of the monasteries, which were made over to the Exchequer, salaries should be paid to the ministers of the Gospel; whereas she has not made any payment whatever these three years. She has lately banished JOHN KNOX from her royal city of Edinburgh, where he has hitherto been chief minister, nor can she be induced to allow him to return. However, no public changes have as yet been made, except at Court; and the leading men of the kingdom, the nobility and citizens, have, by a great majority, made a a profession of the gospel, and manifested numerous and convincing proofs of their firmness. One of the most powerful is the Lord James Stewart, Earl of Murray, the Queen's natural brother, a pious man, and of great influence with his party.[1] . . .

London, August 27, 1566.

From this you may easily imagine what great and terrible commotions have lately taken place in Scotland. In the meantime we entertain the most lively hopes, that all these things will turn out to the further advancement of evangelical doctrine. JOHN KNOX has lately returned, amidst the great rejoicing of the people, to his church in Edinburgh, from which he had heretofore been altogether banished.[2] . . .

London, August 29, 1567.

[1] The above is an extract, from the Zurich Letters, in the Parker Society volume, 1842, 8vo, p. 169.

The volume also contains the original letters in Latin, p. 100, which were first printed in Strype's Life of Grindal, Ap. p. 19.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 198, and p. 117.

LXXX.—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO THEODORE BEZA. EXIMIO CHRISTI SERVO D. THEODORO BEZÆ GENEVENSIS ECCLESIÆ PASTORI DOCTISSIMO SIMUL AC VIGILANTISSIMO SALUTEM ET PACEM IN DOMINO.

LEGIMUS nuper literas tuas, Christiane pastor vigilantissime, ad charissimum nobis fratrem JOHANNEM KNOXUM missas quæ profecto varie nos affecerunt. Quod enim ecclesias vestras et pace et tranquillitate magna frui narras, perjucundum nobis fuit ut debuit. Quod autem reperiri quosdam scribis in Augustano *συγκρητισμῳ*, quos aut error aut pertinacia ad tumultus in eis movendos excitet, quorum causa etiam indictus sit principum conventus, graviter sane molesteque tulimus. Quum vero ex

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TO THE VERY EMINENT SERVANT OF CHRIST, MASTER THEODORE BEZA, THE MOST LEARNED AND VIGILANT PASTOR OF THE GENEVAN CHURCH.[1]

HEALTH and peace from the Lord! We have lately, most vigilant Christian pastor, read your letter sent to our very dear brother, JOHN KNOX, and it has indeed affected us in various ways: For inasmuch as you state that your churches are in the enjoyment of great peace and tranquillity, this intelligence was very gratifying to us, as it ought to be. But whereas you inform us that some persons are found in the syncretism of Augsburg, whom either ignorance or obstinacy may excite to raise disturbances among them, and for whose sake there has even been appointed a conference of the sovereigns; this is

[1] The following translation of this letter appeared in the volume of Zurich Letters printed for the Parker Society, 1842. I was much disappointed to find, after a careful search, that the original letter is not preserved at Zurich, but only a contemporary transcript, in which the signatures are most inaccurately copied. From Beza's letter, at p. 550, it appears he requested the original to be returned to him by Bullinger. It is sufficient, therefore, to subjoin the names of the subscribers to the English version, partly from the volume alluded to.

eadem epistola intelleximus te tuosque fratres a nobis enixe postulare ut Confessionem vestram et Expositionem Simplicem "Orthodoxæ Fidei, et dogmatum Catholicorum synceræ religionis Christianæ, concorditer ab Ecclesiæ Christi ministris, qui sunt in Helvetia, Tiguri, Bernæ, Scaphusii, Sangalli, Curiæ Rhætorum et apud confœderatos, Mylhusii item, et Biennæ, quibus adjunxerunt se et Genevensis Ecclesiæ ministri"[1] mense Martio recens editam, nostris suffragiis comprobaremus; in eo summam erga nos humanitatem tuam tuorumque ingenue agnoscimus et predicamus, qui Scotos gentem in ultimis terræ angulis Domino servientem cultu religionis syncero tanti æstimatis, ut eorum consensione judicetis ad religionem Christianam quam eo libello estis complexi posse multum lucis et splendoris accedere. Quare, ne studia nostra humanitati tantæ et tam æquæ

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indeed painful and distressing news. But as we understood from that same letter, that you and your brethren earnestly request of us to signify our approbation of your "Confession, and Simple Exposition of the orthodox faith, and catholic doctrines of the pure Christian Religion, recently set forth in the month of March, with the unanimous assent of the ministers of the Church who are in Switzerland, namely, those of Zurich, Berne, Schauffhausen, St. Gall, the Grisons, and their confederates, Mullhausen and Bienne, to which the ministers of the Church of Geneva have joined themselves;" in this we acknowledge and declare the exceeding courtesy towards us, both of yourself and your brethren, who express so much esteem for the Scots, a people serving the Lord with the pure worship of religion in the farthest corners of the earth, as to consider that their agreement will add much light and splendour to the Christian religion, which you have embraced in that treatise. Wherefore,

[1] The words within inverted commas form part of the title-page of this "Confessio et Expositio Simplex." The first edition has the imprint, "Tigvri, excudebat Christophorus Froschouerus, Mense Martio, M.D.LXVI." 4to.

postulationi deessent, simul ac tuas vidimus literas cuncti e proximis quibusque oppidis Andreapolim convolavimus, urbem literis divinis humanisque in Scotia florentissimam; ibi quanta fieri potuit celeritate librum eum inspeximus capita ejus singula expendimus, nihil inexploratum prætermisimus, omnia de Deo sacris legibus ritibusque ecclesiæ diligenter excussimus. Dici autem non potest quantum ex ea opera lætitiæ ceperimus cum perspicue cerneremus libello vestro fide optima sancte pie planeque divinitus idqué breviter explicari quicquid nos in templis, in scholis, et in suggestu his octo annis perpetuis docuimus, et adhuc (Deo est gratia) docemus.

Ejus ergo patrocinium suscipere tum conscientia urgente tum officio penitus cogimur, ac omnia ejus capita, omnesque sententias, non solum adprobare sed etiam magnopere laudare. Niti-

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that our diligence might not be wanting to so great courtesy, and so just a request, as soon as we received your letter, we, all of us, from every town in the neighbourhood, assembled at St. Andrews, the most flourishing city as to divine and human learning in all Scotland; and there, as speedily as we could, when we had read over the book, we considered each chapter by itself, and left nothing unexplored, and diligently examined everything respecting God, the sacred laws and rights of the Church, and it is impossible to express the exceeding delight we derived from that work, when we clearly perceived that in your little book was most faithfully, holily, piously, and indeed divinely explained, and that briefly whatever we have been constantly teaching these eight years, and still by the grace of God, continue to teach, in our Churches, in the schools, and in the pulpit.

We are therefore altogether compelled, as well by our consciences, as from a sense of duty, to undertake its patronage, and not only to express our approval, but also our exceeding

tur enim libellus ille prorsus literis sacris quas et profitemur et capitis periculo vel etiam sanguinis profusione parati sumus tueri. Subscripsimus autem omnes qui per angustiam concessi temporis interesse poteramus et hujus Academiæ sigillo publico obsignavimus. Quod si posthac ecclesiis vestris id profuturum putaveris, et subscriptionem hujus Ecclesiæ publicam et Confessionis fidei nostræ formulam, trium Ordinum Regni comitiis sancitam, ad te primo quoque tempore mittemus. Illud modo silentio tegere vix possumus quod de nataliciis feriis, de circumcisione, passione, resurrectione, ascensione, Spiritus Sancti missione in discipulos, vigesimo quarto capite dictæ Confessionis conscribitur, eas ferias apud nos minime locum obtinere in præsentia; quippe qui non audemus ullum diem festum religiose celebrare nisi quem oracula divina præscripserunt. Cætera, ut diximus,

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commendation of every chapter and every sentence. For that little treatise rests altogether upon the Holy Scriptures, which we both profess and are prepared to defend at the risk of our lives, or even to the shedding of blood. And we have all of us, as many as by reason of the shortness of the time allowed us, were able to be present, both subscribed our names, and sealed this letter with the common seal of this University. But if you should think that it would be of use to your churches at any future time, we will send you by the first opportunity both the public subscription of this Church, and the formula of our Confession of Faith, confirmed in the Assembly of the Three Estates of the realm. This one thing, however, we can scarcely refrain from mentioning, with regard to what is written in the 24th chapter of the aforesaid Confession concerning the "festival of our Lord's nativity, circumcision, passion, resurrection, ascension, and sending the Holy Ghost upon his disciples," that these festivals at the present time obtain no place among us; for we dare not religiously celebrate any other feast-day than

omnia docemus probamus et libentissime amplectimur. Has ad te literas quam brevissime scripsimus ut angustiis temporis pareremus. A te vero magnopere contendimus ne tuæ erga nos familiaritatis consuetudinem eam incoeptam intermori sinas. Id si sedulo feceris nos parem tibi gratiam referre conabimur. Dominus Jesus tuos tuorumque fratrum pios conatus ecclesiæ Christi incremento quam diutissime fortunet. Vale, Andreapoli pridie nonas Septembris anno Domini 1566.[1]

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what the divine oracles have prescribed. Everything else, as we have said, we teach, approve, and most willingly embrace. We have written you this letter as briefly as possible, in consequence of the shortness of the time. But we earnestly request you not to allow the friendly correspondence now commenced between us to die away. If you will diligently do this, we will endeavour to return you the like favour. May the Lord Jesus prosper as long as possible the pious exertions of yourself and brethren for the increase of the Church of Christ! Farewell.

At St. Andrews, 4th of September 1566.

Your most loving Brethren in Christ,

JOHN DOUGLASS, Rector of the University of St. Andrews, and Principal of St. Mary's College.

[1] Petrie, in his History of the Catholick Church, Rotterdam, 1662, mentions (what Calderwood has omitted) that "the Superintendents, together with many other most qualified Ministers," having convened at St. Andrews in September 1566, and having read the Letters and Confession of the Churches at Helvetia, etc., sent the answer as above. This Confession of the Kirk of Zürich being translated by Mr. Robert Pont, the General Assembly, at the meeting held the 27th of December that year, "ordained the same to be printed, togither with ane Epistle sent be the Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland, approving the same, providing a note be put in the margin, where mention is made of the remembrance of some holy days."—See Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, vol. i. p. 90. Calderwood's History, vol. ii. p. 333. Wodrow Miscellany, pp. 4, 335.

WILLIAM SKENE, Dean of the Faculty of Arts there, and Ordinary Professor of Law in the same College.
JOHN RUTHERFORD, Principal of St. Salvator's College.
WILLIAM RAMSAY, Professor of Humanity in the same College.
DAVID GOULD, Professor in the same.
JOHN DUNCANSON, Principal of St. Leonard's College.
JAMES WYLKIE, in the same.
JOHN WYNRAME, Superintendent of Fife and St. Andrews.
JOHN ERSKYNE, Superintendent of Angus and Mearns.
JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, Superintendent of Lothian.
JOHN KNOX, JOHN CRAIG, } Ministers of Edinburgh.
JOHN ROW, Minister of the town of Perth.
ROBERT HAMILTON, Minister of St. Andrews.
DAVID FERGUSON, Minister of Dunfermline.
JOHN NOREIS [URE], Minister of Lucharis.
GEORGE SCOT, Minister of Kirkaldy.
ANDREW FORRESTER, Minister of Dysart.
WILLIAM CLERK, Minister of Anstruther.
ALEXANDER SPENS, Minister of Kilconquhar.
THOMAS JAMESON, Minister of Largo.
JOHN SYMSON, Minister of Scoonie.
THOMAS BYGGAR, Minister of Kinghorne.
DAVID SPENS, Minister of Monimail.
WILLIAM CHRISTIESON, Minister of the town of Dundee.
JOHN HEPBURNE, Minister of Brechin.
THOMAS ANDERSON, Minister of Montrose.
NINIAN CLEMENT, Minister of Aberbrothock.
ADAM HERIOT, Minister of Aberdeen.
DAVID LYNDESAY, Minister of Forfar.
JAMES MELVILL, Minister of Feirne.
JAMES BALFOUR, Minister of Guthrie.
ROBERT PONT, Minister of Elgin.

DAVID LYNDESAY, Minister of Leith.
PATRICK KYNLOCHY, Minister of Linlithgow.
JOHN DUNCANSON, Minister of Stirling.
ROBERT WILSON, Minister of Dalkeith.
JOHN BURN, Minister of Musselburgh.
ANDREW SIMPSON, Minister of Dunbar.
JOHN BRAND, Minister of Halyroodhouse.
GEORGE SYLVIUS.

LXXXI.—THEODORE BEZA TO HENRY BULLINGER, ZURICH.[1]

I SEND you a specimen of the very extensive correspondence of Knox,[2] from which you will learn the entire condition of Scotland. I have added the unanimous testimony of the General Assembly of Scotland and of the principal churches,[3] and we are of opinion that we must consider whether, since our common Confession is in the course of being printed a second time both in Latin and in German, there should be added to it this testimony of the Scottish churches. We shall do so when we republish the French [version], unless you think otherwise. But it is my wish that you return safely, and as soon as possible, the autograph which I send you. I had intended to send to our Mr. Haller a consolatory epistle; but you see how I have been obliged to hurry, our messenger being in haste. The Lord acknowledge him and us all in the day of His coming. Farewell, my father, and all the brethren who are with you, for whom I here continually pray God that he may more and more bless you and them.

Geneva, 8th of December 1566.

Thine,

BEZA.

[1] Translated from the original scroll among Beza's Letters. (Orig. MSS., Geneva, No. 118, p. 550.)

[2] This letter is not preserved.

[3] In the preceding letter, No. lxxx., from theConvention held at St. Andrews.

LXXXII.—Extracts—Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

It maye please your Majestie to be advertyzed; I did signefye to Mr. Secretorye, by my lettres of the 11 and 12 of Julye, the daye of myne entrye into Scotlande, the causes of my staye, my lodgynge at Fas Castle, a place of the Lord Hume's, where I was met by the saide Lord and the Laird of Lyddyngton, and what had passed in conference betwixte us whilest I was at the said Fas Castle.[2] Synce which tyme, accompanyed with the Lordes afforesaid, and with 400 horses by theyre appoyntemente for my better conduct, I cam to Edenboroughe the 12 of this present. The 13 beinge Soundaye, appoynted for a solempne Communyon in thys towne, and also a solempne Fast being publysshed I could not have conference with the Lordes, which be assembled within thys towne, as I desyred; that is to saye, the Erles of Athell and Moreton, the Lorde Hume, the Larde of Lyddyngton, Sir James Bawfor, Capytayne of the castle, Mr. James Magyll, and the Presydent of the Sessyon. Nevertheles, I made meanes by the Laird of Lyddyngton, that theye woulde use no protracte of tyme in myne audyence; so I dyd lykewyse to the Earle Moreton, whom I met by chaunce. I was aunswered by them bothe that, albeyt the daye weere destyned to sacred exercyses, suche as weere there of the Counsell woulde consulte uppon my mocyon touchynge myne accesse unto them, and my conference with them; and said,

[1] Most of the letters from which these extracts are made, have been printed entire in a volume edited for the Maitland Club by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, under this title:—"Selections from unpublished Manuscripts in the College of Arms and the British Museum, illustrating the Reign of Mary Queen of Scotland, M.DXLIII.—M.DLXVIII. Glasgow, 1837. 4to.

[2] Fast Castle, now in ruins, situated on a bold rocky promontory on the coast of Berwickshire.

also, that in th'afternoune eyther they woulde come to me, or I shoulde heare from them. . . .

Agaynst the 20 daye of thys monethe, there is a Generall Assemblye of all the chirches, shyres, and boroughe townes of thys realme, namelye, of suche as be contented to repayre to theys Lordes to thys towne, where yt is thought the wholle state of thys matter wyl be handled, and, I feare me, muche to the Queen's dysadvauntage and daunger, oneles the Lorde of Lyddyngton and some others, which be best affected unto her, do provyde some remedye. For I perceyve the great nomber, and in manner all, but chyeflye the common people, which have assysted in theys doinges, doe greatlye dysfavour the Queen, and mynde seryouslye eyther her depryvacyon or her destructyon. I have used the best meanes I can (consyderynge the furye of the worlde here), to proroge thys Assemblye, for that appearethe to me to be the best remedye. I may not speake of dyssolucyon of yt, for that may not be abyden, and I shoulde thereby brynge myselfe in great hatred and peryll. The chyfest of the Lordes which be heere preasent at thys tyme dare not shewe so muche lenytye to the Quene as I thynke they coulde be contented, for fear of the rage of the people. The women be moost furious and impudent against the Quene, and yet the men be mad enoughe; so as a straunger over busye maye soone be made a sacrafyce amongest them. . . .

Knox is not heere, but in the West partyes. He and the rest of the mynysters wyl be heere at thys great Assemblye, whose austerytye agaynst the Quene I feare as muche as anye man's.

By some conference which I have had with some of thys counsell, me thynkethe, they have intellygence that there is a dysposycion in the Quene of Scotland to leave thys realme, and to retyre herselfe eyther into Englaunde or into Fraunce, but moost willinglye into Englaunde, for suche traverces and myslykynges, as she knoweth, hath ben, and is ment unto her in Fraunce, leavynge the regymente of thys realme eyther to a

nomber of persons deleagued and authoryzed by her, or to some one or moe. . . .

At Edenboroughe, the 14 of Julye 1567.

MR. KNOX arryved here in thys towne the 17 of this monethe, with whom I have had some conference; and with Mr. Cragge also, th'other mynister of thys towne. I have perswaded with them to preache and perswade lenytie. I fynde them both verye austere in thys conference; what I shall doe hereafter I know not. They are furnyshed with manye arguments; some forthe of the Scriptures, some forthe of hystoryes, some grounded, as they say, apon the lawes of thys realme, some upon practyzes used in this realme, and some apon the condycyons and othe made by theyre prince at her coronacyon. The Busshop of Gallowaye, unckle to the Earle of Huntleye, hathe sent hether to theys Lordes, that hys nephewe, the Earle, and some others of that syde, maye, at Lyethcoe or Sterlynge, have some comunycacyon with some appoynted on thys syde; assurynge them that there is a good disposycion in the Lordes of thother partye to concurre with theys; affyrmynge further, that they wyll not dyssent for tryfles or unnecessarye thinges, and, as I am gevin to understande, they can be pleased the Quenes restraynte be contynued untill the murder be punysshed in all persones, wherebye the separacyon of the Quene and Bodwell is implyed, the preservacyon of the Prynce, the securitye of all men, and a good order taken for the governaunce of the realme in tranquyllytie.

At Edenboroughe, thys 18 of Julye 1567.

THIS day being at MR. KNOX sermon, who tooke a peece of the Scripture forthe of the Bookes of the Kynges, and did inveygh vehementlye agaynst the Quene, and perswaded extremytye towardes her, by applycatione of hys texte, I did, after the sermon, move suche of the Counsel as weere present to

perswade the Lordes to advyse the preachers not to intermeddle with th'ende of theys matters, untill theye weere resolved amongest themselves what theye weere mynded to doe; for otherwyse the Mynisters goinge on so rygowrowslye (as theye did in theyre daylye preachynges) might so drawe the multetude from them and theyre resolutions, that thoughe amongest themselves theye woulde make choyse of some reasonable ende; yet theye shoulde not be hable to brynge yt to passe, the people beinge once by the Preachers argumentes and perswacions setled another waye.

At Edenboroughe, the 19 of July 1567.

Mr. Knox dothe in hys sermons daylye praye for the contynuacyon of amytie betwixte Englaunde and Scotland, and dothe lykewise admonyshe hys auditorye to eschewe theyre oulde allyaunce with Fraunce as they woulde flye from the pottes of Egypte, which brought them nothynge but sugred poyson; notwithstandinge he dothe continewe hys seveare exhortations as well against the Quene as agaynst Bodwell; thretnynge the greate plage of God to thys wholle countrey and natyon yf she be spared from her condigne ponyshement.

The Earles of Mar, Glenkerne, and Cassels, with the rest of theys Lordes assocyatts, wyll be heere, as I am informed, the 24 or 25 of this monethe, and not before.

The Convencyon of all the churches (whereof I made mencyon in my last to your Majestie), notwithstandinge all my perswacyons to the contrarye, dothe houlde; and thys daye (being the 21st of thys monethe) they are assembled in the Tollebowthe, where they do propounde suche matters as they entende to treate of at thys tyme. The Laird of Lyddyngeton hathe trayvaylled with soundrye of the wysest to make them desyste from dealynge in anye matter which doethe concerne the Quene or thys cryme. But, as farr as I can learne, yt wyl be very harde to wyn thys at theyre handes, for they be verye

audacyous; and yt appearethe theyre hartes be marvelowslye hardened against theyre Soveraygne, which God mollefye.

For as much as I heare an inkelynge that theys Lordes doe meane to desyre me to assyste with them at the coronatyon of the Prynce at Sterlynge, it may please your Majestie that I may knowe your pleasure howe to dyrecte myselfe in that matter, in case I be by them so requyred.

Thus I praye Almightye God to preserve your Majestie in perfecte helthe, longe lyffe, and prosperous felycytie.

At Edenboroughe, this 21 of Julye 1567.

It may please your Majestie that I maye knowe your further pleasure, whether I shall repayre to the Quene of Scotlande and speake with her, accordinge to your Majesties former instructions, in case the Prynce be crowned, and that theys Lordes will accorde unto me acces unto her (as I thynke they wyll not); and lykewyse, that I may know your Majesties further pleasure concerning myne abode heere, synce my commissyon of legacyon ys altered by thys mutacyon, the Prynce beinge invested with the royall estate and dygnetye, and the Quene, hys mother, depryved of the same, which, I thynke, wyll come to passe with in theys three or foure dayes; all the nobylytie and gentlemen within this towne beinge readye thys daye to departe hence, to goe hence to Sterlinge, to crown the Prynce with great solempnytie. . . .

The Lordes have shewed me that Tewsdaye, the 29th of Julye, is the daye of the Kynges inauguracyon. Th'Assemblye of the churches ys dyssolved, untyll yt be reassembled by the Kynges aucthoritye. The earles, lordes, barons, lardes, and gentlemen, assembled at thys tyme, have all subscrybed to the defence of and mayntenaunce of theyre yonge Kynges regalytie, and to the suppressynge of all adversaryes to the contrarye, without excepcyon.

Apon the receypt of thys my dyspatche, I trust yt shall

please your Majestie to geve order for my revocacyon forth this countrey.

I doe intend to send my cowsen, Henrye Myddlemore, y Majesties servaunte, to Sterlynge, to th'ende he may see the procedynges there at thys solemnytie; and also that y Majestie may be the more trulye advertyzed of all suche thyn as shall chaunce there. Thus Almightye God preserve y Majestie in helthe, honour, and all felycytye.

At Edenbrughe, thys 26 of July 1567.

MAYE it please your Majestie, after the wrytynge of the p mysses, my cowsen Henrye Myddlemore retorned from Sterly to thys towne; by whome I understand thynges have pas at Sterlynge as insuethe. The 29th daye of Julye (a wrote unto your Majestie in my laste), the yonge Prynce crowned in the greate churche of Sterlynge by the Bussl of Orkeneye, the Larde of Dun, and Superintendent of Lody

MR. KNOX preached, and tooke a place of the Scripture for of the bookes of the Kinges, where Joas was crowned ve yonge, to treate on. Some ceremonyes accustomablye used the coronation of theyre prynces weere omytted, and ma reteyned. Th'othe usuallye to be mynistred to the Kyng thys realm at hys coronation, was taken by the Erle of More and the Larde of Dun on the Prynces behalfe.

The Lordes Lindseye and Rutheven dyd by theyre othe t tefye publycklye that the Quene theyr Soveraigne dyd resi wyllyngelye, without compulcyon, her estate and dignytye her Sonne, and the governemente of the realme to suche pers as by her severall commissyons she had named, which we there publykelye red, together with her resignation, to Sonne. After theys ceremonyes weere accomplyshed, gr feastes weere made in the Castell to all the nobylytie a gentlemen.

At Edinbrughe, thys laste of Julye 1567.

It maye please your Majestie. The 22 of Auguste th'earle of Murreye was in the towne of Edenbrughe declared Regent of thys realme after thys maner. So manye lordes, barones, and gentlemen, as weere at that present in thys towne, which weere manye, dyd assemble themselves in the Tollebuthe; where the Justice Clerke dyd publykelye read the Quenes commissyon of Regentcye graunted to the sayd Earle, signed with her hande, and sealed with her prevye seale. Which donne, the sayd Justice Clerke wylled the sayd Earle, in the Quene and Kynge her sonnes name, to accepte the sayde charge, and to procede to the takynge hys othe. Whereapon th'earle of Murreye, with great modestye, as I am informed, made a longe discourse conteyninge hys insuffycyentcye and dishabylytie for that charge; notwithstandinge, beinge agayne pressed by the sayd Justice Clerke, in the names of the Quene and Kynge, and by the intercessyon of the Lordes and other th'assystauntes, he the sayd Earle dyd accept yt. Whereapon the sayd Justice Clerke dyd mynister unto hym the same othe which th'earle of Moreton dyd make for the Prynce at his coronatyon at Sterlynge; the copye whereof I doe send your Majestie herewith. Which othe beynge solempnlye red and made by the sayd Earle, there weere certayne artyckles red unto the Lordes, proposed on the behalfe of the sayd Earle of Murrey, to be consented unto by the sayd Lordes, and promesse made by them and everye of them to be on there partes observed and kepte. Thys donne, th'earle tooke hys place, and there was great joye made amongest all sortes; and immedyatlye after, hys regentcye and aucthorytye was with heraldes and trumpettes proclamed in thys towne at the Hye Crosse, and in other places destyned for that purpoose.

At Edenbrughe, thys 23 of Auguste 1567.

To the Quenes mooste excellent Majestie.

LXXXIII. —Knox to Mr. John Wood.[1]

My purpose, beloved in the Lord, concerning that which oft and now last ye crave, I wrote to you before, frome which I can not be moved, and, therefore, of my freinds I will aske pardon, howbeit in that one head I play the churle, reteaning to myself that which will rather hurt me, than profite them, during my dayes, which I hope in God sall not be long; and then it sall be in the opinion of others, whether it sall be suppressed, or come to light.[2] God for his great mercies sake putt suche end to the troubles of France, as the puritie of his Evangell may have free passage within that Realme; and idolatrie, with the meanteaners of the same, may once be overthrowen by order of justice, or otherways as His godlie wisdome hath appointed. In my opinion England and Scotland have both no lesse cause to feare than the faithfull in France; for what they suffer in present action is laid up in store, lett us be assured, for both countries. The ground of my assurance is not the determination of the Councell of Trent, for that decree is but the utterance of their owne malice; but the justice of God is my assurance, for it cannot spaire to punishe all realmes and nations that is or sall be like to Jerusalem, against whose iniquitie God long cried be his servants the prophets, but found no repentance. The truthe of God hath now of some years bene manifested to both, but what obedience, the words, works, and behaviour of men give sufficient testimonie. God grant Mr. Goodman a prosperous and happie successe in the acceptation of his charge, and in all his other interprises to God's glorie and the comfort of his kirk; and so will I the more patientlie beare his absence, weaning myself from all comfort that I looked to have receaved be his presence and familiaritie. Becaus I have

[1] See note to p. 560. This and the next letter are preserved in Calderwood's MSS.

[2] Knox evidently refers to his History of the Reformation. See vol. i. p. xxix.

the testimonie of a good conscience, that in writting that Treatise, against which so manie worldlie men have stormed, and yitt storme, I nather sought myself nor worldlie promotioun; and becaus, as yet, I have nather heard nor seene law nor Scripture to overthrow my grounds,[1] I may appeale to a more indifferent judge than Doctor Jewell. I would most gladelie passe through the course that God hath appointed to my labours, in meditatioun with my God, and giving thankes to his holie name, for that it hath pleased his mercie to make me not a lord-like Bishop, but a painfull Preacher of his blessed Evangell; in the function whereof, it hath pleased his Majestie for Christ his sonnes sake, to deliver me from the contradictioun of moe enemeis than one or two; which maketh me the more slow and lesse carefull to revenge be word or writt, whatever injury hath been done against me in my owne particular. But if that men will not cease to impugne the truthe, the faithfull will pardon me if I offend suche as for pleasure of fleshe feare not to offend God. The defence and maintenance of superstitious triffles produced never better fruict in the end than I perceave is budding amongst you; schisme, which no doubt is a forerunner of greater desolatioun, unless there be speedie repentance. God comfort that dispersed little flock, amongst whom I once lived with quietnesse of conscience and contentment of heart; and amongst whom[2] I would be content to end my dayes, if so it might stand with God's good pleasure. For, seeing it hath pleased his Majestie, above all men's expectatioun, to prosper that worke for the performing whereof I left that companie, I would even as gladelie return to them, if they stood in need of my labours, as ever I was glad to be delivered from the rage of mine enemies. I can give you no reason that I should so desire, other than that my heart so thristeth.

The faithfull of your acquaintance here salute you. The grace of the Lord rest with you.—14th of February 1567-8.

[1] In his "First Blast," or Treatise against Female Government.

[2] The English Congregation at Geneva, where Knox had been Minister.

LXXXIV.—Knox to Mr. John Wood.[1]

I THANKE you heartilie, deirlie beloved in the Lord Jesus, t
ye had suche remembrance of me as to certifie of that pc
which not a little troubled and yit troubleth me. What I h
done, or am able to doe in that behalfe, I will not trouble y
at this present, this onlie excepted, that it will please you
travell as in the end of your letter ye write ye would doe
witt, that my Sonnes might be denezans there.[2] I am inforn
both by letter and by tongue, besides conjectures that probal
may be gathered, that the Duke and his freinds are inflamn
against me. Ofter than once I have called to minde your wo
to me that day, that I had beene more than vehement as so
men thoght, in the end of the [13th] chapter of John's Evang
concerning the treasonable departing of Judas frome Christ, a
of the causes thereof. Before that I came furth of the prea
ing place, ye said, "Before my God, I thinke, your eyes sall
performed that which your mouth hath pronounced." My wo

[1] In volume ii. p. 295, various particulars are given respecting the history of Mr. John Wood of Tilliedavy. He was the son of Andrew Wood of Largo, and was educated at St. Andrews for the Church. In 1548 he accompanied Lord James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, to France, and became his secretary when raised to the peerage as Earl of Murray. It is usually said that he was killed in Fife a few days after the assassination of the Regent Murray, his master; but the proper date, as we learn from Pitcairn's Criminal Trials (p. 140), was the 15th of April 1570. In the State Paper Office there is an Exhortation against the Hamiltons, conjectured to be of the end of February 1569-70, in which Wood's slaughter is menticned. The paper itself is evidently an early transcript of the "Admonition direct to the trew Lordis," etc., by George Buchanan. The following is an extra the passage relating to Wood:—

"For quhat defence can be in n litie, or authoritie, aganis thame that murtherit ane king, and sekis strange to murthour ane uther? Quhome thay spair for vertew or innocency laitlie murtherit the Regent, and kepis the murtherare in thair compa Or quha wilbe owersene for law de or basse estait be thame that fetchit out of Teviotdaill to Fyff TO SLAY M TER JOHNNE WOD, for na uther c bot for being ane gude servand to Crown, and that he had espyit out of thair practizes." This shows that date of Buchanan's Admonition subsequent to April 1570. It was printed at St. Andrews in 1571; an printed at London the same year.

[2] Perhaps meaning their admissio St. John's College, Cambridge.

were these, "I feare that suche as have entered with us in professing of the Evangell, as Judas did with Christ, sall depart and follow Judas, how soon the expectatioun of gaine and worldlie promotioun faileth them." Time will trie farther, and we sall see overmuche. We looke dailie for the arrivall of the Duke and his Frenchemen, sent to restore Satan to his kingdome, in the persone of his deerest lieutenant, sent, I say, to represse religioun, not from the King of France, but frome the Cardinall of Lorane in favour of his deerest neice. Lett England take heed, for assuredlie their nighbours houses are on fire. I would, deere Brother, that ye sould travell with zealous men, that they may consider our estate. What I would say, yee may easilie conjecture. Without support we are not able to resist the force of the domesticall enemies (unlesse God worke miraculouslie), muche lesse are we able to stand against the puissance of France, the substance of the Pope, and the malice of the house of Gwise, unless we be conforted be others than by ourselves. Yee know our estate, and therefore I will not insist to deplore our povertie. The whole comfort of the enemeis is this, that be treasoun or other meanes they may cutt off the Regent, and then cutt the throat of the innocent King. How narrowlie hath the Regent escaped once, I suppose yee have heard. As their malice is not quenched, so ceasseth not the practice of the wicked, to put in execution the crueltie devised. I live as a man alreadie deid from all affairs civill, and therefore I praise my God; for so I have some quietnesse in spirit, and time to meditat upon death, and upon the troubles I have long feared and foresee. The Lord assist you with his Holie Spirit, and putt an end to my travells, to his owne glorie, and to the comfort of his Kirk; for assuredlie, Brother, this miserable life is bitter unto me. Salute your bedfellow in my name, and the rest in Christ Jesus. The faithfull here salute you. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ rest with you for ever.

Of Edinburgh, the 10th of September 1568.

LXXXV.—Theodore Beza to John Knox, Restorer of the Gospel among the Scots, his Venerable Brother and Fellow Minister.[1]

Grace and peace, my Brother, I wish to you and all your holy churches from the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom also I continually give thanks, both for his great goodness towards you, and for your singular constancy and fortitude in maintaining his worship. But, when that honourable and truly Christian declaration of your Assembly, by which you adopted the Confession of our churches, had been laid before me,[2] some months thereafter I intimated, both to yourself in private and to other brethren by letter, how agreeable and how pleasant to us all, and especially to the brethren of Zürich, was this your union with us in the Lord in all things, which too we trust will be everlasting, and stand firm against the very gates of hell. But, though since that time you have received no letter from me, I would not, my Brother, that you should ascribe it to either contempt or neglect, or even to a press of business, but partly to the want of bearers, of whom, indeed, I had none quite suitable, and partly to the perpetual commotions of these times, from which, although by the special kindness of God the best and greatest this state has as yet been safe, yet, since they are both, as you know, very near us, and chiefly affect those with whom we have necessarily almost all things in common, it is impossible that they should not trouble us also to a grievous extent. But I do not think it necessary to write to you at greater length concerning our affairs, as you can learn them all from this countryman of yours, evidently a very

[1] The original Latin letter is printed as No. lxxiv., in the volume entitled "Epistolarum Theologicarum Theodori Bezæ Vezelii, Liber Vnus. Genevæ, excudebat Eustathius Vignon. M.D.LXXIII." 12mo, p. 333. Also in the republication, "Secunda editio, ab ipso auctore recognita. Genevæ, M.D.LXXV." 8vo. Epist. 74, p. 304.

[2] See *supra*, No. lxxx. p. 544.

good man, much better than from myself. Let me therefore add but this, that through the grace of God we are still in good health, and with perfect unanimity continue in the same position in which you formerly left us. Nay, this small school of ours has now increased so much that I believe few are better attended. Colladonius[1] and I teach divinity week about. And a third has been added in the person of our Galasius,[2] whom those troubles in France have driven, with almost innumerable others, into this haven. But two things hinder us from enjoying this solid comfort—one, that our church here increases indeed wonderfully, but it does so out of the ruins of others—the other, that the plague, which afflicted us last year with considerable severity, has a month since begun more or less to revive. Therefore I earnestly entreat of you and the other brethren, that with us you will beseech of God, our most merciful Father, this also, that forgetting our manifold sins he may chasten us indeed, but not rebuke us in his wrath; but rather, which is almost the sole refuge that remains to so many miserable beings, that he may by his own special goodness preserve us from all evil. As to French affairs, at the moment when I write to you, all are reported to us as prosperous, as you will learn from the bearer of this. For although our friends have received a great blow through the loss of that most illustrious hero, the Prince of Condé, yet since that time the Lord has often so refreshed them, that his death seems to have been, and is likely to be in future, a greater cause of sorrow to our enemies than to them. It is certain, indeed, that besides him very few were slain, but among those there were two justly lamented by the army, Castellier a Frenchman, and Stuard your countryman, a man, so far as I can judge, of excellent qualities, both of mind and of

[1] Nicolas Colladon, Rector of the University of Geneva, succeeded Calvin, in 1566, as Professor of Divinity.

[2] Nicolas Gallasius, in French De Gallars, was for some time minister of the French Congregation in London. He was the author of various works besides translations from Calvin. See vol. iv. p. 291.

body. May the Lord recompense his enemies for this most unworthy slaughter, since both these as well as the Prince of Condé were, contrary to the laws of war, most cruelly put to death after they had surrendered. But such is the lot of good men, especially in this ungrateful age. And I have no doubt (for what we hear from your quarter is rather by rumour than from sure information) that every other year may furnish similar examples among yourselves. But alas, my Brother, what a state of matters is this! For although it is by no means new that they who so very pertinaciously reject the doctrine of peace should be vexed by the spirit of discord, yet is it a sad and sorrowful thing that those who for so many years have so successfully opposed both Satan and the world by patient endurance only should be forced to defend themselves with the sword. However, provided the Lord leads his own, they shall certainly find that he is the sole arbiter both of war and of peace. But I wish we may not experience how difficult, nay, how almost impossible it is so to handle those iron weapons as to keep from hurting oneself. God alone, for whom, to use the words of Paul, we war, can cure this evil as well as all others. To him I render great thanks that he has so often been with you in ways so wonderful, and I trust you will join me in praying for the same favours to our France. But more than enough of so doleful a subject. God grant that I may soon have more and better news.

There were published last week certain prelections of mine on polygamy, divorces, and separations, which I wish you to read and to examine with care where you are. For that purpose I would willingly have sent you some copies of them, had I not been afraid of burdening this friend of ours, who, however, has promised, under favour of God, to convey at least one copy to you. Moreover, the calumnies of certain very troublesome persons compelled me to publish a sort of trifle, of which I send you two copies, one for yourself, in order that,

when you also are disposed to trifle, you may seriously remember your Beza; the other for Mr. Buchanan, who, I hope, is with you and well, and to whom I send my regards as those of an old friend. Our whole Assembly salute you and all your colleagues much in the Lord, the common Author and Defender of this our union. I especially pray you, my Brother, that you will continually remember in your prayers me, a most miserable sinner and useless insignificant man, on whom God has laid such a burden, that I may one day stand in some manner without blame before his judgment seat; and Him in return I ask to support, by his holy and powerful Spirit, yourself and that illustrious deliverer of yours,[1] so often wonderfully preserved to you, whom I salute with all humility. Nor do I ask this of you alone, my Brother, but also earnestly entreat it of your whole Assembly of most excellent and learned men, whom all may the Lord Jesus most effectually preserve, defend, and guard, to the glory of his name, and the sure and solid edification of all the churches, to which you are indeed a singular example. Farewell.

Geneva, 3d of June 1569.

How well, my Brother, you act in uniting Discipline with Doctrine! I beseech and conjure you so to persevere, that it may not happen to you as it has to many, who, having stuck in the threshhold, cannot proceed farther, nay, sometimes even will not, a result by far the most miserable of all.

LXXXVI.—Knox to a Friend in England.

The dayes of trouble and affliction appeare; but they sall end, to the comfort of suche as patientlie suffer for righteousnesse sake.

If frome day to day thir seven yeeres by past, I had not looked for an end of my travells, I could have no excuse of my

[1] Evidently meaning the Regent Murray.

obstinat fault toward you, beloved in the Lord, by whom I h
receaved, beside commendations and letters, diverse token
your unfained freindship. Yit have I negligentlie pretermit
all office of humanitie toward you, wherinto, I acknowledge
offense. For albeit I have beene tossed with manie stormes,
the time before expressed, yit might I have gratified you
others faithfull,[1] with some remembrance of my estate, if t
this my churlish nature, for the most part oppressed with m
ancholie, had not stayed tongue and penne from doing of th
duetie. Yea, even now, when that I wold somwhat sati
your desire, I find within my self no small repugnance.
this I find objected to my wretched heart: "Foolish man! w
seekes thou, in writting of missives in this corruptible a
Hath thou not a full satietie of all the vanities under the sun
Hath not thy eldest and stoutest acquaintance buried thee
present oblivion; and are not thou in that estate, by age, t
nature it self calleth thee frome the pleasures of things te
porall? Is it not then more than foolishnesse unto thee,
hunt for acquaintance on the earth, of what estat or condit
so ever the persons be?" To these objections I could answ
nothing (muche more, I thinke, than is writtin), but that I w
write, with what imperfections I little regard.

Now, Brother, this is the thing I must write. I see Engl
become more foolishe, than foolishe Scotland. For foolishe Sc
land wold not obey the mouth of God, when he had delive
that vile adulteresse, and cruell murtherer of her owne husba
in their owne hands, to have suffered, as her iniquitie deserv
and therefore now sob they for the foolish pitie. In the me
time, what doeth England, some time reputed, in judgement
counsell, nothing inferiour to the wisest in Europe? Doetl
travell to amend our errors, and to tak away God's vengeai
which inevitablie must fall upon that wicked Woman, and u

[1] This remark may account for the interruption of Knox's correspondence with Mrs. Anna Lock and other fri in England, alluded to, *supra*, p. 52

all that assist and mainteane her in that impietie? I heare, alace! the contrarie. For, uniting of the two realmes, by mariage of that wicked woman upon the man to whom I wishe a better lucke, is heere divulgat; which being refused upon our part, we are boasted with fire and sword, and that wicked woman sall be placed in authoritie again. If this phrenesie of England, in some case, doeth not justifie our former foolishnesse, this same age will beare witnesse.

I know ye wearie of suche talke, and so I am assuredlie, in writting and remembring the same. And therefore I ceasse farther to trouble ather you or my self, beseeking God, that to his glorie I may finishe my dayes, before that the extremitie of that trouble beginne; and that ye may live manie good dayes, after that that woe be bypast.—Amen. Salute the faithfull of acquaintance in my name, and rest in Christ Jesus.

Off Edinburgh, the 19th of August 1569.

LXXXVII.—Extract, Maitland of Lethington to Mary Queen of Scots.[1]

I have of late dealt with dyvers ministers here, qwha will not be repugnant to a good acord, howsoever I think Nox[2] be inflexible. The L. of Grange, qwha by reason of this Castel may do mekle, wilbe conformable; for qwham I dare ansour he bearis yow as good will as any subject yow have, albeit for his own reputation he will ever preas to dres good wayes for · X ·[3] qwhilk he thinkis mon rather be drawne on be necessity, qwhan he fyndis himself in ane straite, then that ever he wil yeald before hand, quhil he se aparande danger. In the meane season, I wald ye found the meane, if it be possible, to keepe · X · stil on the Borders, and that the officers of England dryve tyme with

[1] This letter is written in cyphers, but the extract is given from a contemporary deciphered copy which accompanies it.

[2] In the deciphered manuscript Knox's name is so written.

[3] This, no doubt, refers to Sir Andrew Ker of Fernyhurst.

him, maters will frame the better in the incountrey. I had no sufficient leasour to wryte to A. [the D. of Norf.] to this end.

From the Castle of Edinbourg, the xx of Septembre [1569].

LXXXVIII.—Knox to Sir William Cecill.

Benefittes of Goddes hands receaved, crave that men be thankfull, and daunger knowen wold be avoided. Yf ye strik not att the roote, the branches that appear to be brocken will budd againe (and that mor quicklye then men can belee) with greatter forse then we wolde wyshe. Turn your eie unto your God, forgett your self and youres when consultation is to be had in materis of such weght as presently lye upon you. Albeit I have bein fremmedly handilled, yet was I never enemy to the quietnes of Englond. God grant you wisdome. In haist, of Edinburgh, the 2 of Januar 1569[-70].

Youres to commaund in God,

John Knox, with his one foote in the grave.

Mo daies then one wold not suffice to express what I think.

To the ryght worschipfull Sir Williame Cicill, knyght, principall Secretary to the Quenes Majestie and Consall of Englonde. Deliver these.

LXXXIX.—Prayer used by John Knox after the Regent Murray's Death.

The heart of Mr. Knox (says Calderwood)[1] was so heavie and dolorous after the murther of the Regent, that the day following (being the Lord's Sabboth), in the closure of his sermon, hee publiklie bewailed the great losse that the Church and State had by the death of that vertuous nobleman, and declared, that as God in his mercie giveth good and wise rulers, so hee taketh them away from a people in his wraith: Yea, in a most mourn-

[1] History, MS. 1636.

full maner he poured forth the griefe and sorrow of his soule, by fervent supplication before the Lord, as followes :—

O LORD ! what we shall adde to the former petitions we know not; yea, alace, O Lord, our owne consciences bear us record that we are unworthie that thou should either encreass or yet continue thy graces with us, be reason of our horrible ingratitude. In our extreme miseries we called, and thou in the multitude of thy mercies heard us; and first thou delivered us from the tyrannie of mercieless strangers, next, from the bondage of idolatry, and last, from the yoak of that wretched Woman, the mother of all mischief, and in her place thou didst erect her Sonne, and to supply his infancie thou didst appoynt a Regent endued with such graces as the Divell himself cannot accuse or justly convict him, this only excepted that foolish pity did so farre prevaill in him, concerning execution and punishment which thou commanded to have been executed upon her, and upon her complices, the murtherers of her husband. O Lord, in what miserie and confusion found he this realme! And to what rest and quietnesse now be his labours suddanlie he brought the same, all Estates, but speciallie the poor Commons, can witness. Thy image, Lord, did so clearlie shyne in that personage, that the divell, and the wicked to whom he is prince, could not abyde it. And so to punish our sinnes and ingratitude, who did not ryghtlie esteem so pretious a gift, thou hes permitted him to fall, to our great griefe, in the hands of cruell and traterous murtherers. He is at rest, O Lord, and we are left in extreme miserie! Be mercifull to us, and suffer not Satan utterly to prevaill against thy little flocke within this realme, neither yet, O Lord, let bloode thirsty men come to the end of their wicked enterprises. Preserve, O Lord, our young King; although he be ane infant, give unto him the spirit of sanctification, with encreasse of the same as he groweth in yeares. Let his raigne, O Lord, be such as thou may be glorified, and thy little flock comforted by it. Seeing that we are now left as a flock with-

out a pastor in civill policie, and as a shippe without a rudder in the midst of the storm, let thy providence watch, Lord, and defend us in these dangerous dayes, that the wicked of the world may see that as weill without the help of man, as with it, thou art able to rule, maintain, and defend the little flock that dependeth upon thee. And because, O Lord, the shedding of innocent bloode hes ever been, and yet is odious in thy presence, yea, that it defyleth the whole land where it is shed and not punished, we crave of thee, for Christ thy sonnes sake, that thou wilt so try and punish the two treasonable and cruell murthers latelie committed, that the inventars, devysers, authors, and maintainers of treasonable crueltie, may be either thoroughlie converted or confounded. O Lord, if thy mercie prevent us not, we cannot escape just condemnation, for that Scotland hath spared, and England hath maintained, the lyfe of that most wicked woman. Oppone thy power, O Lord, to the pryde of that cruell murtherer of her owne husband; confound her faction and their subtile enterprises of what estate and condition soever they be; and let them and the world know, that thou art a God that can deprehend the wise in their own wisdome, and the proud in the imagination of their wicked hearts, to their everlasting confusioun. Lord, retain us that call upon thee in thy true fear. Let us grow in the same. Give thou strength to us to fight our battell, yea, Lord, to fight it lawfullie, and to end our lives in the sanctification of thy holy name.

XC.—Randolph to Sir William Cecill.

I DOWTE not but your Honour desirethe to knowe with what sollemnitie the Regent was buryed, which I could not wryte in my other lettres for lacke of tyme. He was broughte from bysyde Lytheowe te Leethe by water, and from thens secretlie to the Abbaye, untyll the morninge, that he was brought by the Noble men to St. Giles Churche. The bourgessis of Edenbourge and Leethe wente before hym; nexte them gentlemen of

the countrie, and divers Lordes; then followed the Corse, caried by the Earles of Morton, Marre, Glancarne, and Cassels, Lordes Lindesaye, Glammes, Ocletrie, and Ruthen; ther caried his standarde before hym the Larde of Graynge, and his coate armour the Larde of Clysshe, master of his housholde, bothe upon horsbacke; his servants followed hym in their murninge apparell, with as greate sorrowe as ever I sawe. Ther preachede Mr. Knox upon thys theme, *Beati Mortui qui in Domino Moriuntur.*[1] This is all that I can wryte hereof.

At Edenbourge, the xxiith of Februarie 1569 [-70].

Your Honours to commande,

THO. RANDOLPHE.

To the right honorable Sir William Cecill, knight, Principall Secretar to the Quenes Majestie.

XCI.—LETTERS TO KNOX FROM ENGLAND, AFTER THE DEATH OF THE REGENT EARL OF MURRAY.[2]

IN tyme of a public Conventioune of the Estates which was holden shortly thereafter [in March 1570], Mr. Knox receaved letteris out of England, from diverse worthie learned and godlie divines, declaring their great inward griefe for the untimelye death of such a greatlie renowned and truelie religious Regent. Lawrence Humfrie,[3] doctore of divinitie of England, desyred him

[1] Calderwood's account of the Regent's funeral (MS. 1636) may be quoted:—"Upon Tuesday, the 14th of Februar, the Regent's corpse was caried from the Abbey of Holyroodhouse to the great Kirk of Edinburgh, and was buried in the South Ile. Mr. Knox made a sermon before the buriall, upon these words, 'Blessed are they that die in the Lord.' Manie of the Nobilitie wer present. He moved three thousand persons to shedd teares for the losse of such a good and godlie governour. The epitaph following, made be Mr. George Buchanan, was engraven in brasse, and set above his tombe—JACOBO STOVARTO, MORAVIÆ COMITI, Scotiæ Proregi, viro ætatis suæ longe optimo, ab inimicis omnis memoriæ deterrimis ex insidiis extincto, ceu patri communi Patria mœrens posuit."—(Proceed. Soc. Antiq. vol. i. p. 196.)

[2] From Richard Bannatyne's Memorials, compared with Calderwood's MSS.

[3] In Calderwood's MS., "Umfride."—Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, an eminent scholar and divine, was Queen's Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and successively Dean of Gloucester and Dean of Winchester. He died in February 1589-90.—See account of his life and writings in Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, by Bliss, vol. i. pp. 557-561.

... memorie the death and lyfe of the Regent, lai... cruellie murthered.

Mr JOHN WILLOCK,[1] preacher, writis as followes against ... word be word:

... grieveth me so to write, that I can not write ony thing ... twiching the crueltie of these bloudie beastes (... Hamiltounes, he meanes), that devised and practised that a ... and bloudie fact. The Lord revenge it! And I ... doubt but that filthie fact hes so fillet thair coupe of t... of the eternall God, that their restis nothing ... but the drinking up of the same, to thair everlasti... and confusioune; for the whole Churche of God cal... cryed, besydis the voce of the bloud itself, *Vindica Dom... sanguinem innocentis!* And lykas, by the just judgme... God, the Benjamites wer in ane maner routed out, so h... this cruell fact craved (not only in my judgment, but in t... judgment of all upricht myndit men heir) the lyke judgme... God work in thame trew repentance, gif it be possible, wh... the servantis of God doe so agrie in threatning of the wicke... The wicked, be thai never so proude, thai have cause to feir!

[1] In the biographical notice of WIL... prefixed to his correspondence ... the Abbot of Crossraguell in 1559, ... the Wodrow Miscellany, p. 264, and ... *supra*, p. 446, I conjectured that ... died about the year 1574. From ... in the State Paper Office, I ... that Willock had been connected ... the church of Loughborough, in ... county of Leicester; having obtained ... living from the patron, Henry Duke ... Suffolk, to whom he had been chap... The Duke was succeeded by the ... family, Earls of Huntingdon; ... Willock was probably advanced to ... Rector on the death of the former ... incumbent, in August 1561. He seems ... have retained this living during his protracted residence in Scotla... Knox's letter to him in the name ... the Assembly had the effect of bri... ing him back to this country in J... 1568 (see p. 445). He was chosen ... derator of the two following meeti... of the General Assembly in July and ... cember that year; but he appears ... after to have returned to England. Fr... the Parish Registers, we learn t... "Master John Willocke, preacher ... parson of this parish church of Lou... borough, departed this life the 4th ... of December, and was buried the ... being Sonday, in the year of God 158... —Nichols's History and Antiquities ... Leicestershire, vol. iii. p. ii., pp. 8... 900.

when you also are disposed to trifle, you may seriously remember your Beza; the other for Mr. Buchanan, who, I hope, is with you and well, and to whom I send my regards as those of an old friend. Our whole Assembly salute you and all your colleagues much in the Lord, the common Author and Defender of this our union. I especially pray you, my Brother, that you will continually remember in your prayers me, a most miserable sinner and useless insignificant man, on whom God has laid such a burden, that I may one day stand in some manner without blame before his judgment seat; and Him in return I ask to support, by his holy and powerful Spirit, yourself and that illustrious deliverer of yours,[1] so often wonderfully preserved to you, whom I salute with all humility. Nor do I ask this of you alone, my Brother, but also earnestly entreat it of your whole Assembly of most excellent and learned men, whom all may the Lord Jesus most effectually preserve, defend, and guard, to the glory of his name, and the sure and solid edification of all the churches, to which you are indeed a singular example. Farewell.

Geneva, 3d of June 1569.

How well, my Brother, you act in uniting Discipline with Doctrine! I beseech and conjure you so to persevere, that it may not happen to you as it has to many, who, having stuck in the threshhold, cannot proceed farther, nay, sometimes even will not, a result by far the most miserable of all.

LXXXVI.—Knox to a Friend in England.

The dayes of trouble and affliction appeare; but they sall end, to the comfort of suche as patientlie suffer for righteousnesse sake.

If frome day to day thir seven yeeres by past, I had not looked for an end of my travells, I could have no excuse of my

[1] Evidently meaning the Regent Murray.

to put in memorie the death and lyfe of the Regent, laitlie and shamefullie murthered.

MR. JOHN WILLOCK,[1] preacher, writis as followes against the murther, word be word:

It grieveth me so to write, that I can not write ony thing as I think, twiching the crueltie of these bloudie beastes (the Hammiltounes, he meanes), that devised and practised that abhominable and bloudie fact. The Lord revenge it! And I put no doubt but that filthie fact hes so fillet thair coupe of the jugmentis of the eternall God, that their restis nothing for thame but the drinking up of the same, to thair everlasting schame and confusioune; for the whole Churche of God called and cryed, besydis the voce of the bloud itself, *Vindica Domine Deus sanguinem innocentis!* And lykas, by the just judgment of God, the Benjamites wer in ane maner routed out, so hath this cruell fact craved (not only in my judgment, but in the judgment of all upricht myndit men heir) the lyke judgment. God work in thame trew repentance, gif it be possible, when the servantis of God doe so agrie in threatning of the wicked! The wicked, be thai never so proude, thai have cause to feir!

[1] In the biographical notice of WILLOCK, prefixed to his correspondence with the Abbot of Crossraguell in 1559, in the Wodrow Miscellany, p. 264, and also *supra*, p. 446, I conjectured that he died about the year 1574. From letters in the State Paper Office, I find that Willock had been connected with the church of Loughborough, in the county of Leicester; having obtained the living from the patron, Henry Duke of Suffolk, to whom he had been chaplain. The Duke was succeeded by the Hastings family, Earls of Huntingdon; and Willock was probably advanced to be Rector on the death of the former incumbent, in August 1561. He seems to have retained this living during his protracted residence in Scotland. Knox's letter to him in the name of the Assembly had the effect of bringing him back to this country in June 1568 (see p. 445). He was chosen Moderator of the two following meetings of the General Assembly in July and December that year; but he appears soon after to have returned to England. From the Parish Registers, we learn that "Master John Willocke, preacher and parson of this parish church of Loughborough, departed this life the 4th day of December, and was buried the 5th, being Sonday, in the year of God 1585." —Nichols's History and Antiquities of Leicestershire, vol. iii. p. ii., pp. 892-900.

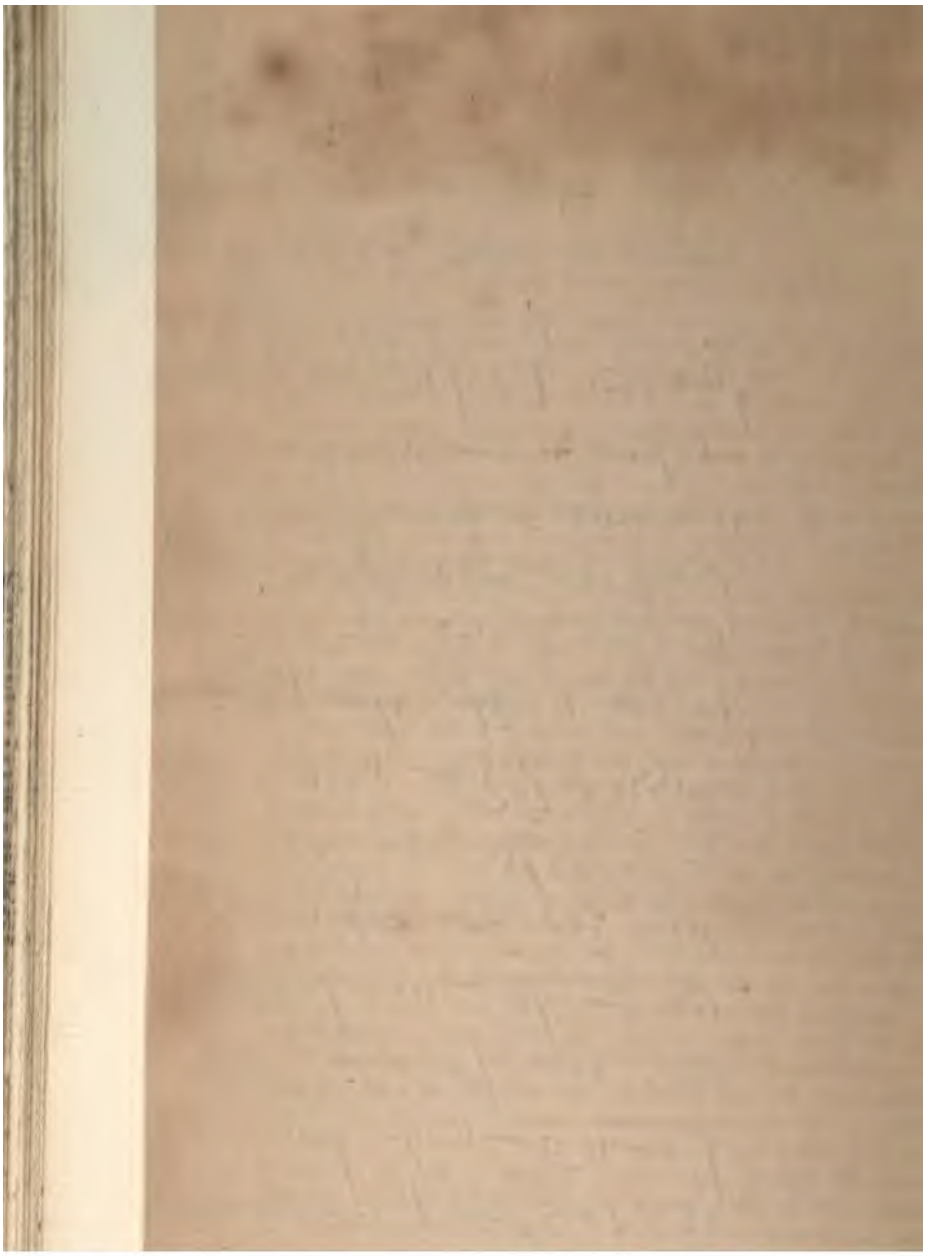
MR. CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN,[1] whose lyfe and learning the verie wicked can not bot praise, after his dolorous complaint, writteth thus anent the Regentis deathe :—

The floure of Scotland, the crowne of nobilitie, the pillar of peace, the patrone of a godlie governement, and signe of Godis favour, hes taken his leave, and gone (I doubt not) to our mercifull God, whom he served; but woe to those devilish heidis which this foul devilish murther have devysit! Woe to that unnaturall monster, enemie to God and his countrey, and fullie possessit with Sathan, that hes beine the instrument! And woe to the whole nobilitie, and to all that profess the name of Godis peopill, gif this be nocht extremlie sought fourth, and revenged; as was the abused wife of the Levite amongis the Benjameitis! Lat yit the devysaris of the murther take heid, for God sieth thame, and his servantis smellis thame furth!

The Conventioune dissolving without resolutioune, the Erle of Mortone, bewitched also be the Secretar, left Edinburgh and past to Abirdeine, of purpose (as some alledgit) to consult with the Secretaris band; and spake with Huntlie and Athole in Drymmen; whairof the faithfull conceaved no small jelosie.

The Secretare and the Capitane of the Castell, named Sir William Kirkcaldie of Grange, knycht, a man sometymes of most honest fame and credite within this realme among the faithful, but now wrapped in factione and treasone, with that most treasonabill traytour, whome the Lord sall confound, and all that in his impietie mainteanis him! Theise two, I say, as thai raiset the trouble upoun the Bordoure, be these tuo fyrebraindis, Pherniherst and Balcleuche, so thai travellit with all diligence to alienat the hartis of all Scottismen fra the Queine of England; and spaired nocht to speike, that gif we seik England for maintenance of the King and punishment of the murther, they sall seik France and Spaine for the restoiring of the Queine, murtherer.

[1] He was Knox's colleague at Geneva. See *supra*, vol. iv. pp. 556-560.



bot the preparatioune made for thair savegarde was not little; for al the passages be the which men micht be assembled, to have staye thair enterpryse, were stopped be men armed with culveringis, pickis and uther long weapones. The darknes of the nicht hid thair faces but God will reveale thame, at his guid pleisoure, and a vigilant magis trat mycht easilie smell thaim out! The Captane himself, accumpanie with the Lord Home, keipit the upper waird above the Over Trone t be thair saivegard, that none should cum betwixt thame and the Castle Farder provisione was made that none shuld have acces to the com mone bell; and swa, all thingis put in order, the Laird of Drylay,[1] chei leader of that band, began to requyre open doores. The jeaveler deny ing, the ram was put to the worke, and quicklie prevailed aganis al doores; and so was the house of justice violated, the recent murthere reft fra the handis of the magistrates,[2] and libertie proclaimed to al malefactoris that wald take the captanes pairte. In the end, to give defyance to the Regent in his face, the grit ordinance of the Castel began to be discharget; and so cannone followed cannone until nyne wer shot. The towne was in grit feire; but small, yea na, danger wa done, except John Wallace hous was shot through, and a corne stake and a barne in the Cannongaite. And so God sent rest for that nycht.

Sonday following, which was the 24 of December, Johne Knox preiched; and omittit not to reprove, as he mycht, sic disorder; and affirmed that in his dayes he never sawe so slanderous, so malepairte so fearfull, and so tyrannous a fact; "For (said he), gif the committar had bene a man without God, a throat-cutter, and sic ane as had never knowin the workis of God, it had movit me no moir then uther ryotis and enormiteis that my eyes have seine the prince of this world, Sathan, be his instrumentis, wicked men, raise upoun against Jesus Christ now preiched! Bot to sie starris fall from heavin, and a man of knowledge to commit so manifest treasone, what godlie hart can not but lament, trimble, and feare? God be mercifull, for the exemple is terrible; and we have neid all earnestlie to call to God, 'lead us not into tentatioune,' and speciallie to delyver us from the cumpany of the wicked; for within these few yeiris men wald have luiked for uther fruitis of that man then now buddeth furth!" As the subsequentis will declair.

At this sermonde and particular reprehensioune, the Captane of the Castle was so offendit, that both God and worldlie honestie were forgot in that rage; for in what furie he burst furth, diverse men of sufficient credite can testifie. But against him will we produce nothing which his awin hand write and plaine factis shuld nocht verefie. That same day, at eftirnoune, he wrote a ticket to Mr. Johne Craig, minister, in

[1] Alexander Crichton of Drylay.

[2] The above passage might have suggested to Sir Walter Scott his description, in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," o the similar assault on the Tolbooth by the Porteous Mob in 1736.

this sentence ; and send it downe with a servant, wha delyverit it to Mr. Craig, being in the pulpet. The letter is this, writtin with his awin hand :—

Ticket, SIR WILLIAME KIRKCALDIE *of Grange, Knycht, to* MR. JOHN CRAIG.

This day Johne Knox, in his sermond, openlie called me a murtherer and a throat-cutter ! Whairin he hes spoken farther than he is able to justifie ; for I take God to be my dampnatioune, gif it was my mynd that that manis bloud sould have beine shed, whairof he hes callit me the murtherer. And the same God I desyre, from the bottome of my hart, to powre out his vengeance suddainlie upoun him or me, whither of us twae hes bene most desyrous of innocent bloud ! This I desyre yow, oppinlie, in Godis name, to declaire to the people. At Edinburgh Castle, the 24 of December 1570.

This ticket was presentit be the Captanes awin servand to the said Mr. Johne Craig, being in pulpet. But he wisely ansuerit, that he durst reid nathing, in that place, without the knawledge and consent of his churche. And so that dart being shot, the strenth of it vanishit. And yit the bruite and veritie of it posted from Edinburgh Castell to mae cuntries then one. To schaw his greife and his offence farther against Johne Knox, he directed his complent to the Sessione of Edinburgh ; in forme as followes :—

The LAIRD OF GRANGE, *Captane of the Castle of Edinburghe, his Complent upoun* JOHNE KNOX, *givin in to the Sessione of the Churche of Edinburgh, the* 28 *of December.*

Unto your Wisdomes humblie meanis and schawis I your servitore, and ane of your bretheren, WILLIAM KIRKCALDIE of Grange, knycht : That whair Johne Kirkcaldie, my cowsing germane, being laitlie charged to compeir in ane justice-court halden within the towne of Dumfermeling, upoun the xj day of December instant, to pas upoun the assise of certane persownes called for the slaughter of umquhill Johne White in Kirkcaldie, my cowsigne ; at command of the charge, as ane obedient subject, repaired to Dumfermeling in quyet and sober maner, his alone, without armore, luiking for no truble, harme, injurie, or displeasoure to have bene done to him, bot to have lived under Godis peace and the kingis. Nochttheles George Dury and Lowry Dury, brether to the Laird of Dury, and umquhill Henry Seatoun, his servand, with thair complices, come to the said Johne, as he was passand to the kirke of Dumfermeling, and efter few wordis speiking, the said George tuike him with his steikit neive upon the face, as he had bene altogether vyle and ignoble, and not in rancke, place, or number of gentle or honest men, without ony offence, provocatioune, or occasioune gevin

be the said Johne in word, deed, or counteanance, to be so contempteouslie and shamefullie used. And, in the meine tyme, the said Henry and remanent persounes, being with the said George Dury in cumpany, drew thair swordis, and had slaine the said Johne Kirkcaldie, my cousing, wer not the Proveist of Dumfermeling come and put thame fra him ; upoun awld feid, forthocht fellony, sett purpose and provisione. Efter the which the said Henry Seatoun, not satisfiet with thir injuries, but still malignand and perseverand in his wicked mynd and conceavit malice against me and myne, shortlie come to this burght of Edinburgh, purposelie, as apeired, to put his hatred farther in executioune against some of my freindis, as indeid sundrie innocent men hes of befoir had over grit proofe of his unmercifull dealing, whair he mycht sie advantage or be maister, which I delyte not farder to reherse nor may serve to manifest the ground and occasioune of the lait truble. And the said Henry, being thus in Edinburgh, most disdainfully passeth up and doun the toun, and most proudlie crossed my servantis gaitis, with sic jeasting and mocking meanes and countenance, as wold have irritate and commovet the most patient fleshe leving ; throw whose contemptuous provocatioune I was moved, and send certaine of my servandis to Leith to have dung him with ane battone, in semnable maner as he and his complices of befoir dung the said Johne Kirkcaldie, my cousing, with thair neives : Which my servandis never drew sword while he had hurt ane of thame, thay nor nane of thame having uther counsall or command of me to shed that manis bloud, as I man ansuer in Godis presence, but onlie, as I have said, to have recompensed the schamefull cuffing and misusing of my kindsman, quhilk I take to be done for my cause, as your Wisdomes may easilie credite it was. For it is notoriouslie knowin, that the principallis of the saidis Henreis bloud (I mean the hous of Dury) hes done to me and myne mony grit offences, grievous injuries, and exorbitant displeasoures, the principall of that hous being the chief author of the deathe and destructioune of my guidschire,[1] the Laird of Raithe, with the rwyne of his hous. And sensyne, have thay not daylie and continwallie molestit and trubled us, his posteritie and freindis, in our richteous tytles, native rowmes, and auld possessiounes : and yit, praised be God, we never made us to take revenge thairof, be way of deid or bludshed, but patientlie have suffered and susteaned the same, as Christianes. Nochttheles, how ignominecouslie I have bene spoken of, in pulpet and publict sermond, upoun Sonday last, the 24 of December instant, be Johne Knox, our minister ; your Wisdomes selves that were auditoris thairto, can beir record. For not allanerlie hes he set me furth, in his said sermond, for a crwell homiceid or manslayer, bot als for ane oppin tratoure, un-

[1] "Guidschire," grandfather : his mother being the eldest daughter of Sir John Melville of Raith.

mercifull murtherer, and plane throatcutter, designand me be my name, in speciall, geving the auditore to understand that he had certane knawledge, proofe, and experience of my nature and inclinatione to be bent to murther and bloodshed; saying also, that when he sawe me in miserie, as vther puir men was, I devysed to have socht my delyverance be bloudsched, bot was stayed thairfra be the counsall of utheris, and nocht be my owin inclinatioune; which I take God to witness is nocht of veritie. Which particular accusatioune was expres contrare the actis, ordinances, and practises of our Kirke, observit in sic cases; namelie, at the first admonitione, and aganis the rewle of Christiane charitie. And sua, in effect, hes accused, injuried, and sclanderit me, in most opprobrious and particulere maner, befoir ony admonitione, citatioune, or declaratioune; and, swa far as in him lyis, condempned me, befoir tryall of my caus or declaratore preceading; whilk, probablie, he hes done of private grudge, to alienat the hartis of all honest men fra me, and to make me odious and contemptible, rather than for correctiounes cause. In that he hes past the bowndis of discretione, and left the order and custome of ane cairfull pastore in his rigorous and particulare threatningis, without admonitione or tryall preceiding, which mycht rather have cassin me in dispair (as God forbid), then have reducit me in the way of repentence, incaice I had bene culpable and guyltie of sic horrible crymes as he particularlie rehearsed, to my sclander and ignominie; whairof (praised be God) my conscience is no farder burdenit, then I have declaired to Mr. Johne Craige and Mr. Clement Little.[1] Heirfoir, I beseike your Wisdomes gravely to weay and consider the premissis, and how far our minister hes transcendit his bowndis, in his speciall accusatioune and sclandering of me, chargene me wrangouslie and partiallie with sic greivous offences as are befoir expressit; And, thairfoir, your Wisdomes, be your judgment and auctoritie, will caus me to be repaired to my honour, and restored to my guid name and fame, in the self same place quhair I was so sclanderouslie calumniat, befoir admonitioune gevin, and cognitione tane in my caus: And thairin reguard, indifferentlie, the offence of the minister, being bot fleshe and blood, and cled with manlie passiones, as uther in the flocke are. And in sa far as I, in ony wayis, have bene offensive to the Kirke, I am content, with all humilitie, at tyme and place convenient, to submit my self to your Godly willis and correctione. And your Wisdomes ansuere humblie I beseike.

This lettre offerit to the Sessione, and red in the same, it was thocht

[1] Mr. Clement Litill, who died in 1580, was one of the Commissaries of Edinburgh. He may be said to have been the founder of the Library of the University of Edinburgh, having bequeathed his books for the use of the ministry, marked as "Gevin to Edinburgh, and Kirk of God," etc.

most reasonabill that the copie thairof sould be send to the pairtie accused; who long befoir had bene seike, and never come out in publict, except upoun the Sonday befoir noune to make the sermonde. And so the lybell and accusatioune presentit to the said Johne, (he) gave ane verball answer, that the nixt Thurisday he sould answer, in write, to the principall accusatioune; bot becaus that in it thair was monie thingis impertinent, and some so manifest and deteastable leyis, that with saife conscience, in his nixt sermond, he could nocht pas by thame with silence, he prayed the bretherin that presentit the said complent unto him, humblie to desire the Sessioune not to be offendit with him althocht he defendit his awin innocencie, seing he was ane preicher. Which being granted (as justlie it culd not be denyed), the next Sonday, in his publict sermond, he said—

I am compellit, and that be impudent and manifest lyaris, to crave of yow (loving Auditouris), as ye will ansuer to God, to beir trew and faithful witnessing. I am greivouslie accused, as a bill delyverit to the Sessione of my kirke dois proport; and thairfoir to yow, as to my competent judges, have I my refuge, desyring yow yit once againe, as ye will ansuer befoir the justice seate of God, to spair nothing of the veritie. Is there ony of yow that hard me in this publict place call the Laird of Grange, now Captane of the Castell of Edinburgh, "a cruell murtherer, ane oppin throat-cutter, and one whose nature I had long knowin to be bloud-thristie?" etc. Or was not the conclusione of my just reprehensioune and complent direct to the plaine contrair end? I accused, indeid, that unjust and cruell murther; I affirmed that the violating of the house of justice to be treasone; and finallie, I compleined that the lyke enormitie and pernitious exemple I never sawe in Scotland. Not but I had sene murther and rebellione of befoir; ye, I have sene magistratis ganestoode, and the supreme magistratis of the croun I have sene besedgit in thair awin tolbuith; and I have sene condempned personeis violentlie reft fra the gallous and gibbet; but nane of all theis foirnamed can be compared to this last attemptat. For, giff the maisteris and authoris of this last ryote had been knowin befoir to have been oppin throat-cutteris, bloud-thristie men, and sic as had bene void of the trew feir of God, I wald have bene no moir movit at this tyme then I have bene at other tymes befoir: Bot to sie staris fall from heavine; to sie men that have felt alsweill Godis judgementis as mercies, in ane pairt; and to sie men of whome all godly hartis have had a guid opinione; to sie, I say, sic men so far cariet away, that both God and man are nocht only forget, but also publictlie dispyset, is both dolorous and feirfull to be remembred; for I have knawin that man in his grittest extremitie, when that he mycht have set him self at fredome be scheding of blood, at the counsall of sober men, he utterly refuised all sic crueltie, and tuke a hasard to the fleshe most

MR. CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN,[1] whose lyfe and learning the verie wicked can not bot praise, after his dolorous complaint, writteth thus anent the Regentis deathe :—

The floure of Scotland, the crowne of nobilitie, the pillar of peace, the patrone of a godlie governement, and signe of Godis favour, hes taken his leave, and gone (I doubt not) to our mercifull God, whom he served; but woe to those devilish heidis which this foul devilish murther have devysit! Woe to that unnaturall monster, enemie to God and his countrey, and fullie possessit with Sathan, that hes beine the instrument! And woe to the whole nobilitie, and to all that profess the name of Godis peopill, gif this be nocht extremlie sought fourth, and revenged; as was the abused wife of the Levite amongis the Benjameitis! Lat yit the devysaris of the murther take heid, for God sieth thame, and his servantis smellis thame furth!

The Conventioune dissolving without resolutioune, the Erle of Mortone, bewitched also be the Secretar, left Edinburgh and past to Abirdeine, of purpose (as some alledgit) to consult with the Secretaris band; and spake with Huntlie and Athole in Drymmen; whairof the faithfull conceaved no small jelosie.

The Secretare and the Capitane of the Castell, named Sir William Kirkcaldie of Grange, knycht, a man sometymes of most honest fame and credite within this realme among the faithful, but now wrapped in factione and treasone, with that most treasonabill traytour, whome the Lord sall confound, and all that in his impietie mainteanis him! Theise two, I say, as thai raiset the trouble upoun the Bordoure, be these tuo fyrebraindis, Pherniherst and Balcleuche, so thai travellit with all diligence to alienat the hartis of all Scottismen fra the Queine of England; and spaired nocht to speike, that gif we seik England for maintenance of the King and punishment of the murther, they sall seik France and Spaine for the restoiring of the Queine, murtherer.

[1] He was Knox's colleague at Geneva. See *supra*, vol. iv. pp. 556-560.

proufe, and experience of his nature and inclinatioune, to be bent to murther and bloudsched, etc.; becaus that this pairt of his complent and accusatioune is manifestlie fals, and so far contrarious to my wordis, I omittit all ansuer and purgatioun of my self, that only excepted which in publict audience I gave upon Sonday last. But in my rigorous accusatioune, as it pleisit the said Sir Williame to terme the publict discharge of my conscience, and dewtie to God, to his kirke, and to him (then and yit, alace! I feir, sleiping in syn), that my publict denunciatioune of his defectione, I say, is in ony wayis contrarious to the actes, ordinances, and practises of this or ony weill reformed kirke, or yit against the rule of Christiane charitie, I utterlie deny. For in this Kirke, since the erecting of it, this order hes bene observit, that upon the notorietie of sic enormities committed within our owin body, publict declaratioune hes bene made to the whole people, as I suppose your Wisdomes doe well aneugh remember and understand; and thairfoir I superseid ony farther probatioun in that heid, and also farther apologie or defence of my self, unles your Wisdomes pleis give me new commandement. And so for conclusione, I say, the said Sir Williame maist unjustlie accuses me, who hes done nothing, in all that actione, besydis the dewtie of a faythfull pastour. That I am fleshe and bloud, and cled with manly passiones, as he alledges, I never have denyed; bot that ather fleshe or bloud impyred in me, in rebuking his manifest impietie, that I utterlie deny; praying God, that he may deale with him so faithfullie and so uprichtlie, that ye communicate nocht with his sinnes; bot that it may pleis God so potentlie to worke with yow, that he may be brocht to the deip consideratioune of his feirfull defectione, and so to unfeaned repentance, be continwance whairof he may escaipe the vengeance pronunced, and that inevitablie sall fall upoun all impenitent persones. And this for ansuer in generall, being reddie, as habilitie of body will serve or suffer, and gif it sall pleis yow to command me, to ansuer every head in particular.

Youris to command in God,

JOHNE KNOX.

Upon the declaratioune befoir said, opinly made in pulpet (which was most true), the Captane tuke new purpose; and whair it was luiketh for that the said Captane shuld in proper persone cometh, and fortified his accusatioune, he send a new bill to the Sessione, the tenour whairof followes:—

New Bill to the Sessione by SIR WILLIAM KIRKCALDIE *of Grange, Knycht.*

Rycht reverend ministeris, elderis, and deacons of the kirke of Edinburgh, unto your Wisdomes, humblie meanis and schawis I your servi-

tore, and ane of your brethrin, William Kirkcaldie of Grange, knight, forsameikle as I gave, this day aught dayis, ane complent upoun Johne Knox, minister, anent ane pairt of his preiching be him made the Sonday then preceiding, concerning me; the quhilk, as I was informed by diverse that hard the same, was tane, reported, and understand be thame, and mony utheris, to my grit injury, and sclander, and defamatioune, as at mair lenth is conteinet in my said complent: Nevertheless, I understand that the said Johne Knox, minister, upon Sonday last was, hes declaired, in his sermond, his former sayingis and intent to have bene utherwayis then thai were understand be monie, as said is: As to the lament and amendement of my fault, and not to my hurt, injury, or defamatioune, I am content to give place to the treuth, and credit his awin declaratione, and swa quyet myself in the hope of the mercie of God, and not to unquyet your Wisdomes nor him, be farder persuite of the complent; only desyring, gif it pleis him and yow, for satisfactione of sic as understoude and reported his sayingis utherwayis then he declaired, to give his saidis wordis and declaratioune in write. Utherwayis, referring the same to God, and end of the same mater, which will declair all. And your Wisdomes ansuer I beseike.

As Johne Knox was passand to the Sessione to ansuer the greivous complent, according to his promeis, this former bill was presentit unto him be two eldaris; quhilk beand red, he said, "I will goe to the Sessione and give my owin ansuer." And so creiping upon his club, came in befoir them, and standing, said, "This day was assigned unto me to ansuer the complent of Sir William Kirkcaldie of Grange, knycht; but becaus, as this lettre proportis, he is nocht willing to persew the same, whatsoever pleises yow pleises me: for, God knowis, I have never bene enemie to that man; and thairfoir, his pursuit ceasing, my defence sall sleip. Bot tuo thingis I man protest and desyre of your Wisdomes: The former, that this my easines to be intreated, nather prejudge my self, nather yit ony of my bretherin, fellow-preichouris; for quhat it is to accuse a minister for the functioune of his office, I suppone ye understand: farther, in this heid, I delay. The secund is, that I desyre that ye suffer not the gentle man to sleip longer in his syn. He is snared by Sathan. It is your deutie to have compassione upoun him, and, thairfoir, Superintendent, I pray yow, for the mater cheiflie tuiches yow, be faithfull, and stout in your office. Admonishe him of his offence committed against God, against the partie, against the Kirke, and cheiflie against the magistrate." Heirupon was the Superintendent of Lowthiane direct to the Castell. But ansuer is not yit (to wit, the last of Februar) reported to the Sessione. But the brute came to the eares of some, that the Captane had satisfiet the Superintendent, in all thingis; and wald satisfie the Kirke, as thai wald

command. But in the mean tyme, the brute went that Johne Knox had recanted, and had asked the captane mercie.

The nixt Sonday after, the said Johne Knox, in his sermond, declared the nature of trew repentance; and in the end, concludit that unfeaned repentance brocht with it humiliatioune without excuse, and true humiliatioune procuired of God delay of plagues, how scharplie that ever they were pronunced, at least for a tyme; and that heid he set fourth be the historie of Elias, who in his face rebucked Achab of Nabothes slauchter, who was not participant theirof, bot be approbatioune, when the fact was done.

This sermond did exasperat the Captane agane, and put him in a new raig. The fourt Sonday, it chanced the Ladie Murray to be in Edinburgh, for whose caus, to wit, to salute hir, the Captane came to the sermond (as he had nocht bene befoir almost ane whole yeir). He brocht at his back the principall murtheraris, and sic as had befoir brocken up the Tolbuithe. Johne Knox was quicke in that sermond against all sic as forget Godis benefits receaved, and entreating of Godis grit mercies bestowed upoun penitent sinneris. According to his commoune maner, he forewarned proud contempneris, that Godis mercie aperteined not to such as with knowledge proudlie transgressit, and after moir proudlie menteaned the same. All that scharpnes the said Laird of Grange tuike, as spocken against his persone only; and spake his pleisoure to moe then ane or twa.

Upoun this new displeasoure, the brute therof ran to all partes; swa thair is no tydingis, but this is one, that the Laird of Grange hes sworne him enemie to Johne Knox, and will slay him. Whairupoun, the bretherin of the West wrot this lettre to the Captane, as follows:—

Letter from the Bretherin of the West to the LAIRD OF GRANGE.

He that continowis to the end salbe savit.

SIR,—After hartlie commendatioune in the Lord; forsameikle as into this our assemblie at Ayre, the secund of Januare, we have hard be report of some, that not only ye have conceived ane offence against our brother JOHNE KNOX, but also that ye are purposet to injure him be sum way of deid (a thing hard to be beleived of us): for albeit in materis of civile regiment ye doe not fullie agrie with us, yit in the actione of religione, God hes heirtofoire sa far used your labouris to the furtherance thairof, that ye have not bene a simple professore only, but also a chiefe defendar thairof, with the hasard of your lyfe, landis, and guidis: And, thairfoir, hard it is to perswade us that ye shuld be movit to doe ony harme to him, in whose protectione and lyfe (to our judgment) standis the prosperitie and ineres of Godis Kirke and religione; and so, be the injureing of him, to cast doun that worke which with so

grit labouris and manifold dangeris ye have helpit to build. Yit, nochtheles, the grit cair that we have of the personage of that man, whome our God hes made both the first planter, and also the cheif waterer of his Kirk amonges us, and moves us to write these few lynis unto you; protesting, that the death and lyfe of that our said brother is to us so pretious and deir, as is our owin lyves and deathis. Desyring to have a plaine declaratioune of your mynd in this matter with this beirar, whom we have directed unto yow with farther credite. And this nocht trubling yow with farder wryting, we committ yow to the regiment of the Spreit of God. From Ayre, the 3 of Januare 1570[-1].

GLENCAIRNE.	HEW WALLACE of Carnall.
VCHILTRIE.	JOHNE FOULERTOUN of Dreghorne.
CUNNYNGHAMEHEID.	JOHNE CATHCART of Carriltoun.
WILLIAME CUNYNGHAME of Caprintoun.	GILBERT KENNEDY of Dalquharran.
BARGANYE.	JOHNE NEILSONE of Craigcaffie.
JOHNE LOCKHART of Bar.	HEW KENNEDY of Benname.
	THOMAS KENNEDIE of Lamby.

XCIV.—LIBELS UPON KNOX, AND HIS ANSWERS.[1]

MARCH 1570-71.

SHORT efter . . . the General Assemblie of the Kirke was to conveine in Edinburgh, to wit, upoun the first day of March 1570[-1]. Befoir this Assemblie, thair was no small boast, that the Captane of the Castle wuld accuse Johne Knox of the reproving of his murther, and of his uther enormities done; which the said Johne heard of diverse, patientlie did abyde the time appointed, not omitting his dewtie upoun the Sonday, as the text offered occasioune. But when the Assemblie was full, and a day was past, nothing was heard; whairat mony marvellit.

That Tuysday nycht, the secund day of the Assemblie, ther was a brawade,[2] or ellis a foolishe vanitie, devysed in the Castell. The one pairt of the Captanes souldieoris touke upoun thaim to scirmishe in maner of ane assault to the Castle; the uther pairt, with his gentlemen, tuike the defence and keiping of the Castle. The skyrmeis begouth about eight houris at nycht, and so continowed quhill efter nyne. Questioun was demandit from the hous, "What thei were that trubled the Captane under silence of nycht?" It was ansuerit (as the feares was devysed), "The Queine of Englandis armie." Thare began flyting, and sic flyting as commounlie we have nocht hard; for besydis thir wordis, "Away lubbard!" "Away blewcoate!" "I defy thee, whytcoite!"

[1] From Richard Bannatyne's Memorials. [2] Bravado.

" Dyrt upoun your teithe !" " Hence knavis, and go tell that whore your maistres, sho sall nocht come heir !" " We lat you to wit, that we have men, meit, and ordinance for sevin yeiris !" And so about the end of the scirmishing, the Castle began to discharge cannones, first ane, syne ane uther, and last the third ; and so shortlie, the counterfout assaultaris touke the flicht, and quytnes was in the toun for that nicht.

At diverse tables wer diverse communicatiounes, and amongis utheris, Johne Knox, sitting with two bretherin, said, " I could expone, gif I myght speike, the mysterie of yon thrie cannones ; but becaus the nicht is fare spent, and I may nocht weill speike, I conclud with this sentence of Salomon, *Ante ruinam præit fastus*, " Befoir destructioune goeth pryde," etc. : I sawe als grit bravetie in the Castle of Sanct Androis, and yit few dayis brocht a miserable desolatione."

The third day of the Assemblie thair was a lybell, without name, in a counterfuite hand cassin in, and fra the house of the Lordis fell into the Assemblie hous. The tenor of it, as salbe eftir declaired, was to accuse Johne Knox. The lettre being presented to the said Johne, he willed the same to be made manifest to the moderatour and bretherin of the Assemblie ; desyring thame onlie to give him place to ansuer for him self. Utheris thocht it not expedient, suddainlie, but rather to suffer tyme to wirke, that the compleners mycht oppen farther of thair myndis ; and so that day it passed by with silence.

The nycht following, this same lybell, with some additione, was affixed upoun the Assemblie doure ; the tenour whairof, together with Mr. Knox his mariginall observations followeth :—

Unto yow, rycht honorabill Superintendentis, Ministeris, and Kirk of God, presently assembled within this burcht for reformatioune, humblie meanis and compleanis your fellow memberis[1] of Jesus Christ, professing ane self Religione with you, upoun Johne Knox, minister of this burcht. That quhair, upoun Sonday last bypast, and diverse utheris tymes of befoir, the said Johne, contrair to his professione, opinlie, in this kirk of Edinburgh, maist seditiouslie[2] detracted, rayled, and invyed against our soverane ladie,[3] the nobilitie, and uther subjectis of this Realme, professing her grace obedience, naming her ane idolatres, and murtherer, and ane adulteres,[4] and her subjectis, menteaneris of adulterie and idolatrie ; with mony utheris injurious and sclanderous wordis, as is notorly knowin to this haill burcht. Attour, whairas of dewtie,[5] not only he shuld have oppenly, in his commoune prayer, have prayit for her, bot exhorted the haill Kirk to pray for her weillfair, repentance, and conversioune to God ; not only doeth he omitt

1. *They wer nocht Gentles that accused puir Jeremy.*

2. *Falslie lybellit.*

3. *No soverane lady is shoe to me, nor yit to this realme, and so ye ar traitouris.*

4. *I grant the accusatioune, bot reuling I deny.*

5. *I deny dewtie in that pairt.*

the same, but, contrariewayis, uses all maner of imprecatiounes and execratiounes against hir,[6] and utherwayis speikis of her as shoe wer a reprobat, saying shoe repentis not, nor can not repent,[7] because shoe desyris, most ressounablie, to be restoired to hir owin realme and auctoritie, justly aperteining to her, both be Godis richt and manis, and whairfra shoe was unnaturallie dejected, and is wrangouslie debarit; thus entering in Godis secreit counsall, as thocht he war previe thairof, and called thairto. In which doing, he workis, sa far as lyis in him, be sic presumptious and malapairt arrogancie,[8] to make the religione of Jesus Christ to be ewill spoken of, and the haill ministrie to be heated and abhorred; and be intermedling of civeill and profaine materis with the word of God, devydeth the church in contrarious factiones; whairupoun may ensew grit hurt and perrell, not only to the kirke, but also to the commoune welth. Heirfoir, we beseike Your Wisdoms, as yow that are apoyntit to watche above his Churche, to put order to the said Johne, in the executioun of his office, that he desist fra sic intollerable and enorme railing[9] upoun our Souverane Lady, and intromedling sic profaine causes with the word of God, far above his commissione; utherwayis, ye wilbe thocht, in tymes cuming, Pertakeris of his Schisme, and charged thairwith, as oportunitie will serve. Unles ye put remeid heirto, the ingevaris heirof will seeke the samen with gretter unquyetnes.[10]

6. *What I have used man has not stopped, nor sall not stop.*

7. *Thou art ane impudent liare! I said, and say, That pryd and repentance abyd not in a hart.*

8. *I know you for no judge, and thairfoir I appeile to Godis mercie, and to the rycht judgement of the Kirke.*

9. *Railing I deny; your Soverane Lady I know nocht; my commissione, man can not limitate.*

10. *Godis gude will be done; and to that just Judye I appeale.*

This preceiding lybell comming to the knowledge of sundry, the Assemblie decried to adverteis the Lordis of Sessioun (wha war in the hous uprycht above thame), and for that purpose did direct unto them some bretherin and ministeris, with both the billis, to inquyre gif thai knew ony thing of the ingiving of the same? Which being denyed utterlie be thame, the procutouris wer called, and thei lykwayes denyed both knowledge and counsall of and to ony sic accusatioune. Then the Assemblie commandit a publict proclamatioune to be maid, as followes:—

Proclamatioune by the General Assemblie.

Becaus some wrytingis are cassin in be some persones, sclanderouslie, against Johne Knox, and the ingevaris thairof are misknawin, thairfoir the Assemblie desyris ony persone or persones that will persew and stand to the samyn, to compeir and persew the samyn, and justice salbe done accordingly.

This proclamatioune, nochtwithstanding, no man wes fund to accuse: bot this thrid bill was affixed upoun the kirke-doure, the tenour whairof followes:—

To the Rycht Honourabill Superintendentis, Ministeris, and Kirke of God, presentlie assembled for reformatioune.

Forsameikle as upoun the Supplicatiounes gewin to yow of before, ye causit openly proclame at the counsall-hous doure, gif ony man wald compeir to persew the same, saying that Knox was readie to answer thairto: Gif the supplicatioune be ressonabill, and foundit vpoun ane guid caus of complent, worthie to be reguardit (as thai ar most ressonabill), then ar thai sufficient, but farder pursuite, to admonishe yow (men of judgment), of your dueitie, and move you to provyde that no slander be gevin be the minister that occupyis the cheif chaire of this realme; the ingevaris of the supplicatiounes luikis that the same be alsweill ane admonitione to the criminall as unto your Wisdomes; yit, give he, upoun his corrupt sence and pervers affectioune, persistis in his arrogant malice, he sall not want ane or mae accusatoris at the nixt Assemblie, provyding he be then law byding, and not fugitive, according to his accustomet maner.

This bill being affixt upoun the kirk-dour, as said is, and upoun sundrie utheris places, was brocht be the bellman to Mr. Knox the 10 day of Marche 1570[-71], as he was putting on his cloathes; and eftir that he had red it, delyverit it to his servant, RICHARD [BANNATYNE], commanding him to tak it to the Assemblie, which dissolved that same day. The bill being presentit, and also red, the said Richard sayis, "I beseike your Wisdomes to heir me, and to take in guid pairt the thing that I sall speike; for God I tak to recorde, it proceidis of na malice to ony persoun." And so leive being grantit, he proceidis thus:— "It hes pleased God to make me a servant to that man, JOHNE KNOX, quhom I serve (as God beiris me witnes), not so meikill in respect of my worldlie commoditie, as for that integritie and uprychtnes which I have ever knowin, and presentlie understandis to be in him, especiallie in the faithfull administratioune of his office, in teiching of the word of God; and give I understoud or knew that he wer a fals teichair, a seducar, a raiser of schisme, or ane that makis divisioune in the Kirke of God, as he is reported to be by the former accusatiounes, I wold not serve him for all the substance in Edinburgh. Thairfor, I desyre your Wisdomes to make it manifest and knowin, be some publict edict, that ye approve his doctrine, consent and agrie with him, that ye are of one mynd and judgment with him, and that ye sing all ane songe; that thairby, the rest of ministeris beiring the part and burding with him (which, on my judgment, now lyis only on his back), the enemeis have

no occasioune to say, it is only Johne Knox that speikis against the Queine."

Thay all said thei wold beir thair pairt of the same burding with him; for the which the said Richard earnestlie protested, and desyred ane act thairupon, but it was refuised. Ane askit and demandit of the said Richart, "Gif his Maister badd him requyre ony sic thing?" Bot he confessed, as the treuth was, that the thing he spake was of his owin heid, without any knowledge of his Maister; but onlie, that he was movet be the sclanderous accusatiounes, and thairfoir (he said) he could do no les, of his conscience, than to desyre thair Wisdomes to remeid the foresaid fals reportes, sa far as in thame lay, which could be by no meanes better, in his judgment, than be thair publict declaratioune, be edict or utherwayes, as thai thocht best, to mak it knowin to all that thei approvet the thingis that Johne Knox spake, and that thei war in the same mynd and judgment with him, twiching these thingis whairof he was accused; leist, be their silence in this behalf, thay sould confirme the opin speikingis of the enemeis, who alledge, and say, that thai have als monie ministeris on thair syde as the King hes upon his syde.

The said Richard, being not a litill in choler that his just desyre was refuised, and that the clerke of the Sessione refuised to give him ane act upon the same, whois duetie, as he thocht, was not to have bene so eirnest in refuseing his requeist, he requyred Mr. George Mackiesone, witnes in the premisses, and wald have givin him ane plack to make ane act under his handwrit of the former wordis: The said Mr. George promeist to beir witnes (as his hand write heirof testifies), but refuised the plack, and said it neidit not.

Thir are the names of thame that wer present in the Assemblie, quhen the said Richard made his Protestatioune:

Mr. GEORGE HAY, Moderator.
The LAIRD of DUN, Superintendent of Angus.
Maister ROBERT PONT, Commissionar for the Kirkis of Murray.
Mr. ANDRO HAY, Commissionar of Glasgow.
Mr. DAVID WEYMIS, Minister at Glasgow.
WILLIAME CRISTESONE, Minister of Dundie.
Mr. DAVID LYNDESAY, Minister at Leith.
Mr. JOHNE CRAIG, Minister at Edinburgh.
Mr. GILBERT GAIRDEIN, Minister at Monyfuthe.
Mr. JOHNE HEPBURNE, Chantour of Murray.
DAVID FERGUSONE, Minister at Dumfermling.
DONALD ADAMSONE, Commissionar[1] of Ros.
Mr. JOHNE PRESTOUN, and ADAM FOWLARTOUN, Commissionaris[2] for the Kirk of Edinburgh.

[1] and [2] In the MS. erroneously called "Commendatouris."

JAMES DALRUMPELL, Minister at Ayre.
JOHNE M'CRON, Minister at Straiton, in Carrike.
Mr. ROBERT LOCKARD.
The LAIRD of HALTOUN.
THOMAS SUMMERWELL, Burges of Edinburgh.
Mr. GEORGE M'KIESONE, Solister for the Kirke.
And JOHNE GRAY, Scribe, who tuike the speich upon him, and first refuised.

GEORGE M'KEISONE, *ane witness of the premises, with my hand.*

The General Assemblie being dissolved, some of the bretheren travellit with Johne Knox, and that of guid mynd, that he sould pas over all sic accusationes with silence. To whome he ansuerit :—

"The Kirk may forbid me preiching, but to stop my toung being in the pulpet it may not; and thairfoir, either lat me be discharget, or else lat you and the adversaires both looke for ane ansuer." And swa Sonday beand the nixt day, the sermond endit, he ansuerit all the billis; and first, he ansuerit the complent and title that the accusatouris cleamed to thaim selvis, calling them fellow-memberis of Jesus Christ, etc., and said :—

Albeit, it is most dolorus to my hart to make ane apologie against such as call thame selves fellow-memberis of Jesus Christ, and men professing the same religione with us; yit, becaus it is no new thing that Godis servandis have beine accused of sic as have bene esteamed the cheif pillaris of the Kirke, it becometh me to take my lot in guid pairt; for Jeremie was not accused of the Gentiles, bot his accusatouris were Jewis borne, and circumcised according to the law, and all externall professing and avowing the testament made with Abraham; Paull was in mony dangeris, and, amonges the rest, he recomptis his perrelis amonges fals bretherin. Ye heir how greivouslie I am accused. I will nocht say that Tertullus accuses Paull; bot we know that once he accused him, as in the Actes of the Apostles, the 24 cap. and 1 ver. we may reid.

Gif this accusatioune be weill weyeth, I doubt not but ye sall persave the same to be the dytement and fals style of a flattering oratore travelling to cloake impietie, and to deface the just reprehensioune of Godis Spreit. That I have called hir ane obstinate idolatrice, ane that consented to the murther of her owin husband, and ane that hes committed whordome and villanous adulterie, I glaidlie grant, and never myndis to deny; bot railing and seditione thai ar never able to prove in me, till that first thei compell Esai, Jeremie, and Ezechiel, St. Paull, and utheris, to recant; of whome I have learned, plainelie and bauldlie, to call wickitnes be the awin termes—a feg, a feg, and a spead, a spead.

I fear that threatening pronunced be Esai, in these wordis, "Woe to them that call licht darknes, and darknes licht, guid ewill, and ewill guid." Gif sho be innocent of ony of the crymes laid to her charge be me, then may I be accused as a realer; but gif thair awin conscience bearis witnes to thame, that scho is guiltie in all the foirnamed, and in every ane of thame, and in monie moe, lat thaim studie how thai salbe absolved befoir God, who threatenis to cast Jesabell in a bed, and thame that committ fornicatioune with hir in grit afflictioune, except thai repent. How mony flattered hir when sho raged in her iniquitie, under the cloake of authoritie, some within this realme, and within the same citie, understandis. But how that God the just Judge hath overthrowin her pryde, and disapointed thair fals flattering promises, the whole world can witnes, and yit they will not cease, but still thai will menteane hir as sho wer ane innocent, and unjustlie handled of her subjectis. Let her and her menteaneris compleane upoun God, who made her cheife flattereris hir cheifest enemies. What shoe salbe to thame or thai to hir, lat thaim declair. I speik of thingis certane and bypast. Now to the rest of my accusatione, I pray not for hir; I ansuer, I am not bound to pray for hir in this place, for soveran to me sho is not; and I lat thaim understand that I am not a man of law, that hes my toung to sell for silver or favore of the world. Bot to ressone with them of prayer, who never understoude what trew prayer was, wer bot laboure lost. I prayed till I was forbidden; but this maner of speiking the warld understandis not. They terme her thair Soverane, and them selvis the Nobilitie and subjectis professing her obedience. In this thai confes thaim selves traitouris, and so am not I bound to ansuer thame, nor yit thair accusatioune, till that thei give ansuer to my peremptour. As to the imprecatiounes maid against hir, whairof I am accused, I have willinglie confessed that I have desyred, and in my hart desyres, that God of his mercie, for the comfort of his puire flocke within this realme, will oppone his power to hir pryde, and confound hir and hir flattereris and assistaris in hir impietie. I praise my God, he of his mercie hes not disapointed me of my just prayer; lat them call it imprecatioune or execratioune as pleises thame. It hes ofter then ones stricken, and sall stryke, in despite of man; menteane and defend her who so list.

I am further accused, that I spake of thair Soverane (myne shoe is not) as that shoe wer a reprobat, affirming that shoe can not repent, etc. Wharto I ansuer, That the accuser is a calumniatour and a manifest liare, for he is never able to prove that at ony tyme I have said that shoe could nocht repent: But I have said, and yit say, that pryde and repentance abydis nocht in ane hart of ony long continowance together. What title shoe hes, or ever had, to this Realme, and to the authoritie thairof, I list not to enter into con-

tentioune: How shoe was dejected fra it, lat the Estaitis ansuer; me thei can nocht accuse, unles thei lie; for hitherto I have lived a subject, and obeyed as a subject, to all lauchfull ordinance of (within this realme.

Yet restis one thing that is most bitter to me, and most fearfull, my accusatouris wer able to prove thair accusatioune, to wit, tha proudly and arrogantlie entered in Godis secreit counsall, as that I called therto. God be mercifuil to my accusatouris, of thair ras and ungodlie judgment! Gif thai understoude how fearfull my c science is, and ever hes bene, to exceid the bowndis of my vocatiou they wold nocht so boldlie have accused me. I am not ignorant, t the secreitis of God aperteine to him self alone: but thingis revea in his law aperteinis to us and to our children for ever. What I h spocken against the adulterie, against the murther, against the pry and against the idolatrie of that wicked Woman, I spake not as that entered in Godis secreit counsall, being bot one (of Godis g mercie) called to preich according to his blissed will, revealed in most holy word, have ofter then once pronunced the threatningi his law against sic as have bene of counsall, of knowledge, of assista or consent that innocent blond suld be sched: And this same thin have pronunced against all and sundrie, that go about to mente that wicked Woman, and the band of these murthereris, that thei su not the death according to his word, that the plague may be tal from this realme, which sall never be sa long as shoe and thai rema unpunished, according to the sentence of Godis law.

Whare I am accused of intromedling civill and profaine thingis w the word of God: I divide the Kirke in contrarious factiones; I m the religione of Jesus Christ to be evill spoken of, and the wh ministrie to be hated and abhorred, etc.: I ansuer, that when thai teiche me, be Godis plaine written word, that the repruife of vice i civile and prophane thing, and that it is a thing that perteaneth not the ministrie, I sall do as Godis word commandis me: Bot unto t tyme (which will not be till the morne after Domesday, and not the I mon hold that sentence and power pronunced and gevin be God his prophetis, be Jeremie and Ezechiell, to stand for a perpetuall l and rewle to all true ministeris; which, with Godis assistance, I p pose to follow to my lives end.

Whare thai threaten to put order to me with grit unquyetnes, ur I cease from railing of thair Soverane, I ansuer as befoir: Railin deny; thair Soverane I know not; lat Godis will be done in me! have laid my compt; mony thingis I knowe I have omittit, but in tl I find no great fault with my memorie. Lat thaim reply, gif at thai can or dar, and I sall ansuer as it pleases God to assist me. A this ansuered to both thair first accusationes, in schort wordis I ans

the third; in the which my accusatoris alledge, that there complent is sufficient that the Assemblie accuse me, for thair awin discharge, etc. Whairunto I ansuer, that my accusatoris wold have the Assemblie of Christiane ministeris moir brutise and moir barbarous then an Etnick judge was in a moir notorious accusatioune: for the princes of the preistis cumming to Festus, the deputie desyred sentence against Paull; to whom he ansuerit (Actis 25, 16), That it was nocht the consuetude of the Romanes to decerne against ony man befoir that he was accused had his accusatoris present befoir him, and that he him self had place to purge him of thingis objected against him. Now, gif my accusatoris wald that a Christiane assemblie sould condempne me at there requeist, and upoun their accusatioune, they make it inferiour to this Ethnicke judge, as said is. But thai have promised to accuse me face to face, at the nixt General Assemblie, gif I be found law-byding. Whairunto I ansuer, that I praise God, that thei have nothing presentlie to accuse, when the tyme is als favourable unto thame, as ever thai will find it, gif Christ Jesus have place within this realme. Bot becaus thai know that thair persuite is unjust, they flie to the last refuge of all walterares of commone wealthis, *tempora mutantur*. Whither I salbe law-byding or not at that tyme I know not, for my dayes and wayes ar in the handis of Him upon whome I depend, and who hath guydet me throughe in mony troubles, and hes yit preserved me to this decreapit aige, which now is not apt to flie farre. Mairover, I think that no man is able to convict me to have bene a fugitive from the flocke, whairto I was bound, without thair awin commandement.

This Apologie, pronunced be word, befoir the secund Sonday they caused the fourth bill to be affixt, accuseing Johne Knox of seditione, of schisme, and erroneous doctrine. As the tenour of thair accusatioune dois testifie; which begins with a grite nota, thus:—

The Fourth Bill, accusing JOHNE KNOX *of Seditione, of Schisme, and Erroneous Doctrine.*

NOTA.—Gif the buike intitulat "The Blast of the Trumpet," set fourth be Johne Knox, against the Regiment of Weomen, be grundeth upon a schisme and fals doctrine (as but dout it is), why then may he not be judged, trewlie, ane seditious man and a fals doctour, that set fourth the same so arrogantlie? And if it be groundit upoun ane infallible treuth, why then doeth he avowe and approve the contraire—I meane that regiment in the Queine of Englandis persone, which he avowes and appreives, not only in praying for the menteanance of her estate (as he hes done diverse tymes oppinlie in pulpet,) but als in suteing and procureing, be him self and utheris of his alluiring, be all meanes possible, hir aide and support against his owin native cuntrie and libertie thairof?

It is evident, that ather his doctrine is fals, or els that he
against the manifest treuth.

JOHNE KNOX *his Answer to the Fourth Bill.*

That nixt Sonday, the sermond endit, Johne Knox requyred
audience of his Congregatioune. "Becaus (said he) I am accu
a schismaticke and fals doctore;" and so he red the ticket that a
him self: And thaireftir said, "God be mercifull to my accusatori
give thame grace cleirlie to sie and perfitlie to understand the dc
which, be me, God hes pronunced ever since it pleased his mer
illuminate myne eyes, and to instruct myne harte with the bright
his word. And God grant me patience, that without bitternes
beare the opprobrie of the croce of Jesus Christ; whairintill I
my God I am so assisted be his Holie Spreit, that gif I had not f
respect to you, who now of so long tyme have bene my auditori
I have or ever had to my self, I sould never oppin my mouth
awin defence. But becaus I am not ignorant that Sathan, throu
malice, seikis to deface the treuth of God in my waike persone,
not pas by sic accusatiounes with silence. The ditment seames tc
of some craftie lawles man of lawes braine; and yit, gif I list to
him as his folie deserves, I micht easilie lat him sie, that in ac
the author of that tractat, he hes nather luikit to God, natuire,
just law. His dilemma begynis with a conditionall, saying, 'G
buike intitulat The First Blast of the Trumpet be grundit, etc.
may not Johne Knox be called a seditious man, and a fals doctou
so arrogantlie set fourth the same?' I will only ansuer his 'gif
ane uther; and so say, Gif that be groundit upoun guid reasone,
Godis plaine treuth, and upon maist plaine and just lawes, th
the accusatore nather God before his eyes, knowledge of just law
yit reverance to nature. And so lat one 'gif' ansuer ane uth
that farther probatioune be produced. He bauldlie affirmes tha
buike is groundit upon a schisme, etc.: Whairto I ansuer, th
affirmatione of ane liare may not be a sufficient proufe again
principallie in his awin cause. A guid and wise dialectisiane wal
laboreil to have laid some pruife, befoir that he wold have so
pronunced; and so, becaus the former part of his dilemma hes no
strenth then his awin affirmative, I say it is brocken, and he is a
fest liare. Gif ever I entreatted that argument in publict or in
sen my last arryvell in Scotland, his argument myght have sum
bilitie; bot seing thairof I can not be convict, a schismaticke I c
be proven. Bot the secund horne of his argument the craftie accu
thinks I can not avoid, for thus he writes: 'Gif it be grundit
ane infallible treuth, why then doeth he avow and approve th
traire—I meane that regiment in the Queine of Englandis p

which he avowes and approves, nocht only in praying for the same, the mentenance of hir estate (as he hes done dyvers tymes opinlie in pulpet), but also in suiting and procuiring, be himself and utheris of his alluiring, hir ayde and support against his owin native cuntrie,' etc. This horne, he thinkis so strong, that no force is able to brek it; and yit my guid hoip is, that the hammer of Godis treuth sall shaw it to be moir fragile and waike then ever glas was. He affirmes, that I approve the contraire, to wit, that same regiment, in the persone of the Queine of England, his probatioune is, I pray for the mentenance of hir estate, and I procuire her ayde and help against my native cuntrie. These appeir to my accusatoris so strong, as said is, that I am not able to avoid thaim. And yit, I say that nether of both his ressones feght against me; for nather doeth the prayer of Godis servantis, for the mentenance of commone wealthis, whair the people of God remaines, prove that Godis servantis allow all things done in sic commone wealthis; nather yet dois the seiking of help (ewin from the wicked) prove that the godly justifies the wicket.

And that these, my assertiones, may be understand to be most true and suire, I will not alledge the testimoneis of prophaine wryteris, but content my self with the mouth of God, and with the factis of thame, who in thair cheif actiones wer rewled be the Spirite of God. For example, I bring the Prophetes of God that servit in Israel, from the dayes of Jeroboam, the sone of Nebat, till the destructione of that Kingdome, off whome (I meane of Godis prophetis) some comforted the kingis, althocht thai wer wicked, some forewarned thaim of dangeris, some gave them charge to feght, with promeis of victorie; but did ony of these actis prove that the propheites did allow and approve that kingdome of idolatrie, or thair unnaturall defectione from the hous of David? Jeremy prayed, and commandit the Jewis to pray, for the prosperitie and health of Nabuchanedzare; did he therfore justifie his crueltie against Jerusalem? I am assured he did not; as his awin prophesie beareth plane witnes. And so, my praying for the Queine of England can not prove that I do any thing contraire the treuth affirmed in that buike. This same I ansuer to the secund member of his probatioune, to wit, that I seike and procuire her ayde, and thairfoir I justifie hir authoritie. I ansuer, that gif he were able to prove his assertione, to wit, that I seike and procuire her ayde, yet is he never able to prove that nather my doctrine is fals, or that I worke against the manifest treuth, *Quia omnia munda mundis*. David, pursewed be Saull, socht support and refuge of Achys, king of Gath; did he thairfoir approve and justifie the enormitie that was used in Palestina? My accusator may considder how easie it is to simple treuth to breke the strenth of lyes, how artificiallie that ever thai be composed.

But one thing, in the end, I may nocht pretermit, that is, to give

him a lye in his throat, that either dar, or will say, that ever I support against my native cuntrie. What I have bene to my cu albeit this unthankful aige will not knowe, yet the aiges to come compelled to beir witnes to the treuth. And thus I ceise, requyri all men that hes to oppone against me ony thing, that he will do plainlie as that I make myself and all my doingis manifest tc world; for to me it seames ane thing most unressonabill, that, ir my decripit aige, I salbe compellit to fight against schaldowes howlatis, that dare not abyde the lycht!

This answer gevin to that horned argument in publict, with g vehemencie then it is wrytten, accusatioun be wryting against J Knox ceassd for a tyme; for men had uther thingis to thinke upc

[In Bannatyne's Memorials, the above is followed by a det account of the siege and surrender of Dunbarton Castle, 2d April 1 with a letter addressed to Knox by Thomas Craufurd of Jordanhi the Laird of Braid's request, dated at Leith, the 14th January 157 and also an Inventory of the munition in the Castle].

XCV. Additional Extracts from Richard Bannatyne Memorials.

At this tyme (April 1571) a constant rumore rais of the retu of the Erle of Mortoun from England, with a guid dispatche. T and uther thingis, made poore Johne Knox to be more quiet fi sic accusationes; and yit he ceassed nocht to doe according t accustomet manner, publictlie reproving the murther of King I Stewart, invented be the Queine, fortified be sic as efter God instrumentes to confound hir, and put in executioun be Bothwell utheris, whom God will yit disclose. He ceased not to pray in pub for the King and for his Regent, and to exhort the people to constant in defence of the present authoritie; nochtwithstanding o Queinis braggingis, and of all her lieyetennentis, who had appoy ane Conventioune at Edinburgh, the 10 of Aprile 1571; whairc ceise to speike, abyding farther knowledge of the end.

The Captane of the Castle hes declared, by his letter to ane ge man of honest fame, that he will receive the Ducke and his s and will accumpanie thame. He hes this houre, upoun Fryday 20 of April 1571, Claud Hammiltoun, in the Castle of Edinbu Arthure of Meritoun, Robert of Inchemachan: and a sort of strongest throat-cutteris of the Hammiltounes, going plainelie u

Edinburgh calsay. How ever that he be blindit, who soever fearis God, seis his handis defyled with his maisteris bloud, in that he joynes with the menteaneris of the murther!

"Now, Lord, be mercieful to thy puire flocke, within this realme, and cheiflie within this citie; give me strenth, Lord, to fight my battell lauchfullie; and welcome be thy merciful providence at thy guid pleisoure; for in death I doubt not to overcome death, and to get enterance in eternall lyfe be Jesus Chryst, in whois handis I commend my spreit!

"Lord, provyde for thy flocks trew pastoris, raise thow up the spreitis of some to observe thy notable workis, faithfullie to committ the same to writ, that the posteritie to come may praise thy holie Name, for thy great graces plentifully powred fourth upoun this unthankfull generatione!

"JOHNE KNOX, trusting end of travellis."

. . . . . .

Befoir our departoure furth of Edinburgh, this first of Maij, the Laird of Elphingstoun wret a lettre to his guid-brother, Robert Melving, that Mr. Knox sould not be trubled, etc.; for the which purpose, Robert Melving wrytes to the Laird of Braid as followes:—

Letter, ROBERT MELVING *to the* LAIRD OF BRAID.

SIR,—It may pleis you to wit, that I have receavit ane lettre fra my guid-brother the Laird of Elphingstoun,[1] to desyre me be cairfull that Mr. Knox incurre no displeisoure, but that the laird (meaning the Captane) and my self sould tak ordor thairin, which we have nocht pretermitted to this present; nochttheless, in respect the laird is compellit to take the assistance of some (that beiris Mr. Knox na guid will) for his owin defence, I pray you to caus him either come heir, whare he salbe preserved as our selves, or that ye convoy him to some freindis hous while ye understand sume quyeting of thir trubles. Assuir your self, albeit he hes used us utherwayes than we deservit, we wold be als loathe to sie his displeisoure as utheris that he lippnis moir unto. Ye will do heirin according to your wisdome, for he may get harme being at this tyme within the toun, and we innocent, which wold be ane grit greif unto us, besydis sclander without desert.—This Fryday, be youris to comand, ROBERT MELVING.[2]

Post scriptum.—Lykwayis tak heid to your self, for albeit ye sal never laike our guid will and intelligence, when we know of your hurt; yit be assuired thair is gritter personages heir present that will have uther respectis. Be the moir circumspect.

[1] James Johnstone of Elphinstone.

[2] Captain Robert Melving, Melvin, or Melville, on the 2d of June, was blown up with gunpowder, and died on the 6th of that month, as related by Bannatyne.—(Memorials, pp. 136, 137.)

Answer to this.

SIR,—I have reasaved your wryting, whairof I thanke you most hartlie. As to me to enter in to persuade Mr. Knox to remove fra his vocatioune, I can not weill doe; but thair is tuo thingis I most warne you of—Medle with him wha will, to his hurt, God sall revenge it or it be long. The uther is, that gif the Laird and ye be his friend (as ye say ye are), ther is none that is come to that toun will medle with him. But notwithstanding, I will travell as farre as I may, that he sall remove aff the toun: And for my self, I will keip my owin hous; and gif ony persew me thair, I hope in God thai sall have na honour nor vantage.

Ane uther Letter written be a Freind.

SIR,—I have spocken the man that wrait to you, and lykwayis the principall; first be thame selfis apart, and thairefter together, anent your owin pairt, and the uther manis that was written to you for. As to his parte, they bothe thinke it best that he remove for a seasone, for sen thir folkis cuming to this Toun, it hes beine plainelie resonit, that althocht the principallis will do him nor wishe him no hurt, yit thei can not pleadge thair honouris for his savetie fra the multitude and rascall; and they say, and it is true, when he is gone thair is no remead nor restitutione for his lyffe; and trewly, sa farre as I can persave, they speik it of a guid hart, and upoun intentioune only of his preservatioune. Therfore, Sir, I wald wishe ye suld write your guid counsall to him, to will him to remove for a seasone. As to your owin pairt, it hes bene spoken amonges thir folkis that are cum in, that thei sall revendge thair hearschipe upoune the Lowthiane lardis; and named a certane of them, and named you amonges the leive. Quhairfoir, he that wreat to you thocht guide to give you adverteisement thairof be the principalis avyse; nocht in ony wayis to fray you, or to will you to remove your self or your guidis, bot allanerlie to tak tent about you, and to be the mair circumspect: Assuiring you, that thei sall, nather in counsall nor outwith, know nor haif wit of your harme, but thei sall give you intelligence of it; and incaise it happen to be done by there intelligence, thair credit sall failyie, but it salbe redressit. Alwayis, thei wold not wishe it to cum to that seay, gif ather your guid circumspectione or thair adverteisment myght prevene it. I find it gud that ye be als walkryffe about your place and guidis as ye may. And sua committis you to God. The caus why I came not up is, that I wald help to travell with the uther man for his removing.

Settirday the fyft day of Maij 1571, Johne Knox depairted the toun [of Edinburgh] sore against his will, being compellit be the bretherin

of the kirk and toun; becaus that his tarie wold be ane occasione of farther truble unto thame, and ane occasioune of the schedding of thair bloud for his defence, whome thei could not sie persecuted without assisting of him; which mycht come to both thair destructiounes. This day was renforced all the poirtis of the toun, except the Neddir Bow and Waster Port. The Communione, this Sonday following, was delayed, becaus of the trubles.

A MEMORIALL *of sic thingis as wes done in this Toun of Edinburgh, sen the depairtour of* JOHNE KNOX, *Minister, out of the same, sore against his will.*

Fryday the fourt of Maij, the Ducke and his sone Claud come to this toun, to the number of ane hundred hors, and threescore hacquebuteris or thairby, and lychted at the Castell gate. At efternoune thei went all to the counsall in the Castell, whair all the murthereris was together, and Grange, now joyned with the Hammiltounes, wha slew his maister; a thing befoir few wald have beleived, which causes utheris to beleive him to be als guiltie as thai war of that innocent bloud.

The Captane desyred ane assuirance to certane men in the toun, of the counsall thair present, and in speciall to Johne Knox, minister, that he sould not be hurt be the Hammiltounes; wha ansuerit, that thai could not promeis him assuirance upon thair honouris, becaus thair was mony rascallis and utheris amonges thame that loved him not, that micht doe him harme without thair knowledge.

The brether of the Toun seing thair minister in danger, come unto him with Mr. Johne Craig, also being minister, and desyrit him, in the name of God, to depairt (as oftymes thei had done befoir). But seing on nowayes him to condiscend unto thair desyres, they said, they could nocht see him in ony wayis get harme, but it behoved thame to assist and defend him against whomsoever wald hurt him; and so, in defending him, it sould be the occasioun of thair owin destructioune; becaus now thai were not able to resist the Hammiltounes, and the rest in the towne. Thairfoir thei charged thair said minister, Mr. Knox, in Godis name, as he tenderit thair savetie and weill, to depairt; which gif he did nocht, that gif thair bloude wer shed for his cause and in his defence, that God wald requyre it of his handis. And so, be this occasioune, he depairted on the morne, the 8 [5th] of Maij, over the water of Leyth, and went to Abbotishall, whar he is presentlie.

This Sonday [13th of May 1571], Mr. Craige teiched the 130 Psalme; and, in his sermond, he compaired the stait of the Kirke of God within this toun unto the stait of the Maccabeis, wha wer oppressed sumtymes by the Assyrianis and sumtymes by the Egiptianis, be whome

the people of God than wer oppressed. Also, he said, that when wicked men and wicked parties contendis and stryves for thair pryde, ambitione, and worldlie honore, the Kirke is alwayes in truble. Be which maner of speich, mony wer offendit, in making the tuo parteis alyke; and how farre unlyke the comparisone is, all men may sie. . . .

The weike preceiding [the 19th of May], ther was nather preiching nor prayer, nather was thair ony sound of bell heard in all the Toun at that tyme, except the ringing of the cannones; whairof thair was of canone, and cannone feir, myen and battard, 500 shot at leist, besydis small brasen peices, slanges of iron, and utheris mae peices that was tane fra the Toun.

This same day [the 13th of June], the Castell Lordis sent to Mr. Craig, desyring him to caus the Kirke to be assembled, and redd this letter unto thame sent from the Lordis, wha convenit at thrie houris efter noune. Efter the reiding of the letter the Bischope of Galloway and Sir James Balfour come in, requyring, in the same manner, in the Lordis name wha had sent thame to the Kirke, that thei wold pray for the Quenis Majestie, thair Soverane, and for the Prince hir sonne: Whilk thinge the Lordis besocht thame, with all gentlenes and submissione, to doe; bot it was denyed of the whole bretherin: Whairat the tuo messingeris wer not content, and discharged them to preich gif they wald nocht pray for the Queine.

The Generall Assemblie of the Kirk held in Striveling the fyft of this moneth [of August]; but the maist pairt of the effairis thairof wer continowed to the Parliament, which also was continowed till the 28 of this moneth, to be in Striveling.

This same Tuysday, the 28 of August 1571, was the first day of the Parliament in Striveling, whair the Kingis grace in proper persone was present, and spake thir wordis with his owin mouth: "Me Lordis, and the uther trew subjectis, we ar convenit heir, as I understand, to minister justice: and becaus my aige will not suffer me to exerce my chairge be myself, be reasone of my youth, I have gevin power to my guidschire[1] as Regent and Tutore to me, and yow to assist him thairin; as ye will ansuer to God and me heirefter."

They of the Castell of Edinburgh, lykwayis appoynted thair Parliament about this same tyme, and made thair foirfaultouris as thei pleisit, both upoun lordis, lairdis, gentlemen and burgessis, a grit number.

[1] Matthew Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley, was then Regent. He was slain on the 3d of September following. His grandson, James the Sixth, was at this time only five years of age.

TO HIS LOVING

BRETHREN WHOME GOD
ones Glorioufly gathered in the Church
of Edinburgh, and now ar diſperſed
for tryall of our Faith. &c.

IOHN KNOX.

IMPRENTED AT

STRIVILING BE ROBERT
LEKPREVIK.

ANNO DO. M.D.LXXI.

[Small 8vo, 4 leaves, in Roman letter.]

XCVI.—Knox to his Brethren of the Church of Edinburgh.

The Troublis of the Just sall schortlie come to an end, to the Glorie of God, and to their Eternall Comfort.

Beloved Brethren in the Lord Jesus, pertakers now of his afflictiones, if the inhabilitie of bodie wold suffer, I wold wryte a long letter; but being in that estait that I may not wryte with my owen hand two lynes, I must abyde the good leasure of God, and desyre yow to have me excused, that I have not soner visited yow into this your dolerous persecution. When I call to mynd the fearefull threatninges of God that have bene often tymes thoundered out into your eares, and doeth considder these present dayes, in the middest of my dolour, I praise my God, that Sathan hath not gotten the full victorie, as he pretended. For this seperation whiche now is made to the grief of many hartes, is yet a severe document, that the word of God hath not lost the whole strength in yow; but that God, working theirby, hath pulled yow furth from the middest of the wickit, least that ye should be with them condampned, who now moste manifestlie rebelleth bothe against God and man.

Of one thing I must put yow in mynd, and I pray God that ye may frutefully remember it, that the worde of God preached be the mouth of man, is not a vane sound, and wordes spoken without a purpois; but is the summoning of God himself, forewarning men before the judgement come. Ye have hard it planelie spoken, that we wolde till Ægypt agane, in dispyte of Jeremie, and all his admonitiones; whiche threatning for that tyme was not onelie mocked, but also boldlie spoken against. But whether this day declaireth the treuth of that and other threatninges, let the verray blynde worlde judge: for what can be to returne to Ægypt, if to joyne handes with idolaters be not? Yea, to erect an authoritie (be God justlie dampned), with-

out ordour, bothe against God and man? Suche men, when they were spoken unto, and were plainelie admonished of their appearing defection, could not abyde to be called proude contempners of God; who now spareth not at everie moment to blaspheme God, and be their wicked workes planelie to deny, that there is a God that maketh difference betuix vice and vertew.

Rejoyce, therefore, and praise Goddes mercyes, who hath called yow from the company of such; and continew constant into that, that God of his mercy hath wroght into yow, to wit, a feare to remaine in the faction of the wicked; which feare I pray God may daylie increase into your hartes. I knowe the assaultes that ye shal suffer are sore and hard to be ganestanded; and therefore be yow fervent in prayer, that ye repent not that God hath chosen yow to suffer affliction with his Sone Jesus Christ. Hard it is (I say), to ganestand fleshe and blood, and whatsoever is moste pretious into this lyfe onlie, in hoip of that kingdome promised; and yet onlie they that contineweth to the end shall stand in assurance before the Lord Jesus, into that general day when vertew shall ressave a just rewarde, and vice (with the workers of impietie) shall suffer wraith and vengeance without end.

Be not ye sclandered at the multitude of them that have joyned handes with impietie: "For if thay had bene of us (as Sanct Johne sayeth) they had remaned with us." But now this their defection doeth planelie declare, that when they were with us, they were but as corrupted humoures within the body, which behoved to be expelled furthe, before the body coulde convalesce, and come to perfection againe. Lament their fall, but follow not their trade; for howsoever they prosper into their attemptat, the end thereof shalbe their destruction temporall and eternall, onles spedie repentance prevene Goddes judgementes; which to wishe is godlie, but to beleve is foolishe presumption, as oftymes ye have hard.

Luke not for fynall victorie before that the strength and

pryde of flesche be beaten doun, nether be ye discouraged, albeit that iniquitie prosper before the worlde; for the tyme of their felicitie, which troubleth yow for the present, shall be short: joyne not with them, therefore, as ye will avoyde plagues present, and condampnation eternall. Be faithfull and loving one to another: let bitternes and suspicion be farre out of your hartes; and let everie one watche for the preservation of another, without grudgeing or murmuring; being assured, that as God hath appointed yow to suffer affliction for righteousnes sake, so hath he appointed yow to posses an kingdome, wherein nether Sathan, sin, nor deith, shall have power to molest yow. Rejoice in the Lord, that he hath compted yow worthie to suffer for his Name's sake. Pray for me, Brethren, that I may feght my battell laughfullie to the end. The Lord Jesus preserve yow now and ever. Amen.

Of Sanctandrois, the 17th of Julij 1571.

Your Brother to power in Christ Jesus,

JOHNE KNOX.

If I might wryte, I wolde exhort yow to remember, that by many tribulationes we must enter in the Kingdome of Heaven.

XCVII.—KNOX TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.[1]

The mightie Spirit of comfort, wisdome, and concord in God, remaine ever with you. Amen.

DEARE BRETHREN,—If abilitie of bodie wald have suffered, I sould not have troublit you with this my rud dytement. I have

[1] This letter, accompanied with a Latin translation, was subjoined to a tract entitled, "Gemitus Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, sive Tractatus de Sacrilegio," etc., Jo. Forbesii, SS. Theol. Doct., printed at Aberdeen, 1631, 4to (sig. G. 1, 2). The author, Dr. John Forbes of Corse, gives it this title:—"Magistri JOANNIS KNOXI τοῦ μακαρίτου Cygnea Cantio, sive Epistola quam in lecto doloris sui scripsit ad nationalem Synodum Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ quæ Sterlini celebrabatur, mense Augusto, A. D. 1571;" and adds this note, "Hanc gravem tanti viri præmonitionem libuit adjungere threno lachrymantis Ecclesiæ ad finem tractatus

not forgot quhat was laid to my charge be famous lybells the last Assemblie, and quhat a brag the adversaries made personallie to accuse me at this Assemblie, quhilk I pray you patiently to heare, and judge of me as ye will ansuer to God; for unto you, unto that heid, submitt I my selfe; being assurit that I neither offendit God, nor yet good men, in any thing that hitherto hes bein laid to my charge. And now, Brethren, because the dayly decay of naturall strenth threatens unto me certaine and sudden departure fra the miseries of this lyfe; of love and conscience I exhort you, yea, in the feare of God, I charge and command you, that ye take heid to your selvis and the flock over the quhilk God has placit you pastours. To discourse of the behaviour of your selves, I may not; but to command you to be faithful to the flock, I dare not cease. Unfaithfull and traitours to the flock sall ye be before the Lord Jesus, if that, with your consent, directlie or indirectlie, ye suffer unworthie men to be thrust in into the ministrie of the Kirk, under quhat pretence that ever it be. Remember the Judge befor quhom ye must make account, and resist that tyrrannie, as ye wald avoyd hell's fyre. This battell, I grant, will be hard; bot in the second it will be harder; that is, that with the lyke uprightnes and strenth in God, ye gainstand the mercilesse devourers of the patrimonie of the Kirk. If men will spoyle them, let them doe it to their awin perill and condemnatioun; but communicat not ye with their sinnes, of quhat estate soevir they be, neither be consent nor yet be silence; but be publick protestation make this knowen unto the world, that ye are innocent of sick robberie: quhilk will, or it be long, provocke God's vengeance on the committers therof; quhereof ye will seik redresse of God and man. God give you wisdome

nostri de Sacrilegio, qui inscribitur *Gemitus Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*. Atque ut omnes suis oculis videant, quam sit fideliter in Latinum sermonem translata hæc Epistola, ipsam, prout vulgari nostra lingua ab autore olim scripta est, et adhuc in Synodi illius archivis exstat, exhibeo." These archives unfortunately do not exist.

and strength, knowlege and courage in so just a cause, and me a happie end.

Of Sanctandrois, the 3d of August 1571.

Your Brother in Christ Jesus,

JOHNE KNOX.

[This letter (says Calderwood) was read, considered with mature deliberation and allowed in all points; with firme purpose to doe and proceed according to the godlie counsell contained therein, touching the affairs of the whole Kirk. And, as concerning his own part contained in the said letter, the Assemblie ordained all persons to be warned at the Tolbuith door, that had or pretended to have any thing to lay to the charge of the Superintendents or Ministers, either presently conveened or absent from the Assemblie, to compear before the dissolving of the same and accuse, if they had any just matter; but chiefly those that gave infamous lybells at the last Assemblie holden in Edinburgh, in the moneth of Marche last by past; promising to hear their accusations, to try the same and to minister justice therein, in so farre as in them lyeth, according to God's word].

XCVIII.—ALEXANDER HAY TO KNOX.[1]

SIR,—Returning yisternycht to Leith, I met with Richard [Bannatyne], be whome I thocht meit to send yow thir few lynis, with my maist heartlie commendatiounes. I wald be glaid to write to you guid newis in our expeditione at this journay; but I know weill ye layke not to be abused with uncertanties and untreuthis: yit according to my knowledge and opinione, ye sall understand as I can lerne. The Lord Hunisdaill[2] had ample commissione; but, as now appeiris, sa

[1] From Richard Bannatyne's Memorials, compared with Calderwood's MSS.

[2] Henry Carey was created Baron of Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire. In Bannatyne's MS. his name occurs as Hunisdaill, and Hunnisdoun indiscriminately. He was appointed about this time Governor of Berwick, by Queen Elizabeth.

restricted be instructiones, as he could do nothing but minasse thame in the Castle, and heir what on our pairt was craved and offered; and swa to adverteis the Queine and Counsall. The Merschell was in full reddines to pas to the court, when we come from Berwicke this last Weddinsday. He hes with him the writtis of baith, and is to give informatioune of the stait of this cuntrie; whairupoun it is thocht resolutioune salbe tacken anent the sending out of ane armie, whairof thair is alreddie some lickliehеid, bot no sic fordwardnes as our necessitie craves. The matter is apparent to continow in suspence, while the Merschelis returning, who hes not only the informatioune of both pairties in Scotland, but the opiniones of the Captanes and best experimentit men of warre in Berwicke, how the enterpryse may be performed. He luikis to have the conducting of the forces; yit utheris judges that men of gritter calling salbe imployit in that service, and that whensoever the power cumis, it salbe gritter nor we have requyred or yit luikis for. The first assay that the Castle hes gottin is be boasting and perswasiones; it is thocht nixt it salbe persewed be offering silver for it; and lastly by force; and in cais it be recoverit be ony of the last meanes, men doubtis that the Queine of England sall not be content to want it hir self, for hir suirtie, at this hand. Sua I can not tell what to say, but to behald what it salbe Godis pleisour to worke. The cauldnes of the dealing of England puttis mony in a brangle: and yit I feir they laike nocht reasone to give for the fassione of thair doing; for thei ar acquentit weill aneughe with our natures, and ar not ignorant of our fetches, as thei dissemble not in thair speiking, as I lament thair is sa just caus: for gif it wer ather peace or weir, some ressonabill order of leving wer for men. Bot as it is, all true and honest men ar wreakit, every noblman having his particular intelligence, with ane at leist to whome he is patrone, althocht it be of the cheifest enemies to the Kingis obedience and commone caus. When England findis us craving ayde to suppres

the adversareis in generall, and yit every noblman to procuire the savetie of ane of the cheifest in particular, na doubt thai smell our doingis, and ar the mair slaw to resolve in ony thing tuiching us. Now I wearie you, and sua will mak ane end.

I was desyred be the guid wyfe, the Clerke of Registeris wyfe, to send you the copeis of some thingis, according to a memorie left with Richard; whairof I have part, and uther part ar not in my handis. My absence this whyle hes stayed that I could not satisfie yow; but alsfare as I can I sall fulfill that memorie, and sic thingis farther as ye thinke worthie, being in my handis, upoun your adverteisment I sall travell to seike thaim. Thus efter my most heartlie commendatiounes, I committ you in the protectione of the Almichtie.

At Leith, the first of December, 1571.

Youris assuiredly to command,

ALEXANDER HAY.[1]

XCIX.—ALEXANDER HAY TO KNOX.

SIR,—I ressavit your writting of the vi of this moneth fra the Superintendent, not long befoir Johne Brand delyverit to me Richard Bannatyne's letter of the 14 of November, which I had not sene quhen himself was heir. I had no commoditie to write at the depairtore of the Superintendent, nor knew not certanly his dyet. As to the lettres writtin be you to my Lord the last Regent, now resting with God, I can not certainlie affirme whidder I haif it or not; bot gif it be in my handis, it is in Striveling, whair I sall searche for it, at my passing thither; and gif I haif it, I sall send it to yow.

I have no farder certantie of the Englishe resolutiounes, toward our estait, nor I had at my last wryting to you, for no

[1] Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet was Clerk of the Privy Council in 1564, and Director of Chancery in 1577. He was appointed Clerk Register and a Lord of Session in 1579, and died 19th of September 1594.—(Senators of College of Justice, p. 175.)

ansuer is returned frome the court. The Lord Hunisdailis dealing is nocht pleising: whither his owin imperfectiones of nature, or commandement, is the occasione, I will not yit judge. They have set in England our Queinis lyfe and proces, both in Latine and Englis; whairin is conteinet the discourse of our tragicall doingis; the proces of the Erle of Bothuelis clengeing, hir sonnetis and letteris to him; the dispositiounes of the persones execute, and cartellis efter the Kingis murther.[1] In apeirance they leive nothing unsett out, tending to hir infamy, and to make the Duke of Northfolke odious, wha hes a grit benevolence of the people. But thair slaw resolutiones in that cuntrey dois us grit harme heir, and is lyke aneughe, in worldlie appeirance, to prove incommodious to thame selvis at lenth. We may not command, and swa necessarily man suffer.

Be commone report of some comed from Flanderis, we heir the newis of the Turkis overthrowe affirmed, for the which fyres wer made in London; that thair hes bene a Counsall at Bruxellis, and aid of money, men, and munitione granted to our adversaries, at the Lord Seatonis procurement. He was twyse on the sea, and constrayned be tempest to returne. It is said, the Cardinall of Lorane was at the same Counsall; and that the Prince of Oreinge, with some uther princes of Germany and noblmen of France, wer come to the fronteiris of Flanderis; for resisting of whome, Duke D'Alva has drawin his men of warre from all the tounis whair thai lay in garaysoun, and send them to the fronteiris: That thair is a guid number of schipis at Dover-raid, and utheris the narrow sies, under the name of the Prince of Oreinge, whilkis hes taken mony of the buscheis and thair wachteris; and that thir shippis of the Prince of Oreinge

[1] Buchanan's well known treatise, in Latin as well as in English, appears from this letter to have been printed at the end of the year 1571, apparently at London, by John Daye. The one is entitled, "De Maria Scotorum Regina, etc., plena et tragica Historia." The other, "Ane Detectioun of the Duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir Husband," etc. There is also a Scottish version, "Ane Detectioun," etc., "Imprentit at Sanct Androis be Robert Lekprevik, Anno. Do. M.D.LXXII." sm. 8vo.

hes oversicht to make sale of thair weiris in ony pairt of the King of France his dominiones; which apeiris strange, gif it be trew, on the uther pairt, that the Cardinall was at the Counsall in Bruxellis.

It is reported also, that the Admiral [Coligny] is returnet to his house, and the Cardinall of Lorane returned to the Court of France; that the marriage haldis fordward betwixt the Prince of Nawarre, and Madame Claud, the King of Frances sister; and that the same prognosticateth a warre betwix France and Spaine. The Admirall hes gottin the Kingis licence that the Protestantes may contribute amonges thaim selves, for payment of the money borrowed fra the Queine of England during the tyme of the weiris; and the toun of Deip has elis payit fyve thowsand franckis, as ane pairt of that contributioune. As I gett knowledge farder in forane materis, ye sall, God willing, be made participant.

Thair hes bene some conference betwixt some of the Superintendentis and Ministeris, and my Lord Regentis grace, and the Counsall, for agriement in materis twiching the policie of the Kirke and dispositioun of benefices. The mater is defferit till the viii of Januar. It seimes rather to differ in circumstances nor in effect; and, to speike treuth, I find the Regent willing and desyrous to have a forme agriet unto, whilk I traist he sould performe for his enterest. The stay of the aggriement in this hinderis alsweill the cause of the Kirke as of the Estaite, whairof I wald wishe your habilitie mycht trie the best and the worst. Gif ye have with you the buike I sent unto yow when I come from England, intitulat *Leges Ecclesiasticæ Anglicanæ*, or *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*,[1] which is the worke of Johne Foxe, I will pray yow send the same to me with this beirar; and I sall doe gudwill to send yow some uther buike to supplie the place of that, while I return it, gif ye thinke it worth; for

[1] "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum," etc., Lond., ex offic. Joh. Daii, 1571, 4to. Foxe was the editor, and wrote the Preface.

sic thingis being in my handis as wer meit to decoir the Historie. I asked of yow befoir what were the thingis you thought meit, for I have sindrie thingis in my judgement not unmeit for that purpose. And therefore, that I sall not be put to extraordinary paines to copie thingis that ye have alreddie, let me know gif ony of the thingis heirafter noted be convenient, and may serve your turne? Sic thingis as are newlie sett out, in print, I traist be not neidfull to be written; as the Discours of the Quenis doingis, hir Lettres to the Erle Bothwell, the proces of his clenging and cartellis, all which are set out bayth in Latine and Englis; in the end of which Englis buik thir sentences or conclusiones are written, whilkis I thought not gude heir to slip:

Now judge, Englischmen, if it be gud to change Quenis,
O uniting confounding!
Quhen rude Scotland hes vomited up ane poysoun, must fyne England lick it up for a restorative?
O vyle indignitie!
Quhile your Quenis enemie liveth, hir dangir continueth; desperate necessitie wyll dare the uttermost.
O cruell mercie!
O ambitioun, fed with prosperitie, strengthened with indulgence, irritated with adversitie, not to be neglected, trusted, nor pardouned![1]

I have, bot thei ar in Striveling, the tuo processes of divorce betwix the Erle Bothwell and his wyfe.

Some proclamatiounes about that tyme.

Instructiones gevin to the Bischope of Dumblane to excuse that mariage.

Band of the Lordis befoir that mariage.

Declaratioune of the Queine that sho was at libertie, efter her reveissing.

[1] Corrected by the old English copy of Buchanan's Detection (1571).

Proclamatioune, and bandis, at the Kingis Coronatioune and afoir.

Conditiones of the randering of Dumbar.

Some band maid about the Parliament, in December 1567.

Proclamatiounes efter the feild of Longsyde.

Negotiatione with England thairefter, while we past to Yorke; and all the publict proces we had in England.

Articles at Glasgow, in Merche 1561.

Ordour for the theives at the Bordeouris.

Articles of agriement with the Erle of Huntlie, Lord Ogilvie, Erle of Crawfurd, Macqyntosche, Laird of Grant.

New band of thaim with relapse.

Projectis brocht hame with Mr. Johne Wood, whairon followit the ansuer at the Conventione at Perth.

The order tacking with the theivis, in October 1569.

Proclamatiounes be the Erle of Sussex, twiching the rebellione in the north of England.

Actis and doingis efter the murther of the Erle of Murray, Regent.

Proclamatioune at the incuming of the Englismen to Hammiltoun.

The constitutione of the Erle of Lennox, Regent.

And finallie, all sic commone thingis as past registeris ar in my handis, and salbe at commandement how sone I have commoditie to be in the rowme whair thei ar; and mon have thame copeit out of the buikis, or whair thei ar in scrollis sall send the scrollis.

Thus having too long trublet yow, efter my maist heartlie commendatiounes, committis yow in the protectione of the Almychtie God.

At Leyth, the xiiii day of December, 1571,

Youris assuiredlie to use and command,

A. Hay.

C.—THEODORE BEZA TO JOHN KNOX, HIS VERY DEAR BROTHER AND FELLOW-MINISTER.[1]

ALTHOUGH, my Knox, we are in body separated by so great a distance both of land and sea, yet I have not the least doubt that there has always existed, and that there will exist to the last between us, that complete union of mind which is confirmed by the bond of one and the same spirit and faith. And truly I believe that this Church of Geneva especially is often in your thoughts, as we, in our turn, have you in continual remembrance before God, which most holy reciprocity of spirit almost solely sustains me, and you also where you are, as I think, amidst so great a confusion of human affairs; for, albeit they whose citizenship is in heaven, ought to have their whole dependence on heaven, as those who, being in the body, are absent from the Lord, yet in mind sit together in heavenly places, still there is no reason why, however weak and ineffectual are those things which have the appearance of some strength and firmness, we should not contemplate heaven as it were situated on earth, the goodness, namely, of God (as seen) in his own people. From the surest proofs, I infer that the Scottish churches are such, that the numerous and severe and continued attacks of Satan, the like of which I believe no nation has hitherto borne within so few years, have not succeeded in corrupting among them the purity of doctrine, or in changing the rule of strict discipline neglected by so many nations. Blessed be the Lord our God, who has gifted thee, my brother, as placed at the helm, and others as rowers and under-rowers, with such constancy and courage. It is a great gift of God, that you carried together into Scotland both pure religion and good order, the bond by which doctrine is secured. I beseech and implore you, that ye so keep those two together,

[1] The original is No. lxxix. p. 314, in the "Epistolarum, etc. Theod. Bezæ, Liber Unus," edit. 1573; p. 314. Genevæ, 1575. See *supra*, p. 562.

that you may always remember, that when one is lost the other cannot long endure. This, certainly, both the very nature of things (for who would expect that laws could be rightly observed except by appointing guardians and executors of them?) And also experience itself, the teacher even of fools, teach us by the example of those nations, to whom chiefly through this error, which the people will not allow to be corrected, it is certain that at this day the gospel is proclaimed in judgment rather than in mercy (I except a very few of the elect of God). But of this also, my Knox, which is now almost patent to our very eyes, I would remind yourself and the other brethren, that as Bishops brought forth the Papacy, so will false Bishops (the relicts of Popery) shall bring in Epicurism into the world. Let those who devise the safety of the Church avoid this pestilence, and when in process of time you shall have subdued that plague in Scotland, do not, I pray you, ever admit it again, however it may flatter by the pretence of preserving unity, which deceived even many of the best of those of former times. As to our own affairs, while you in your country are occupied with tragedies such as the whole of Greece never acted in its theatres, we meantime have for six whole years been struggling with the plague, nor have we yet finished the conflict, which truly has destroyed no fewer than twelve thousand persons in this, as you know, rather small town. Although, however, both evils are sent by God to chastise us for our sins, yet we know what a difference that most wise and most experienced prophet David, when bidden to choose his punishment, judged to exist between our chastisement and yours. Your struggle, therefore, was even harder than ours. But blessed be the Lord who has so tried us in this furnace, that he has consumed neither, and may he grant, that by such chastisement we may at length be made wiser. Our city indeed is not as you saw it. The benches of our school, formerly not quite full, are now empty. One or another also of ourselves has severely tried us; but we are still

through the grace of God alive, and, since that vital heat, namely, that same doctrine, good order and harmony between all ranks, which you observed when here, continues unabated, we doubt not that all the members having at length recovered their vigour, the whole body will be restored to health. Help us then by your prayers to God, as we also in our turn bear you upon our heart, and have been accustomed day and night perseveringly to pray for the state of the kingdom of Scotland, and the welfare of all good men. We will, however, be glad if as often as possible you advertise us of your affairs. We shall do the same to you much more diligently than ever before, seeing that peace in France seems to have opened to us a way for that purpose, though separated by so great a distance. Farewell, excellent man, and brother much to be esteemed. Let all our very dear and much-to-be-loved brethren and fellow-ministers, and all who love our Christ in sincerity, be saluted along with you both in my name, and in the name of all our colleagues.

Geneva, 12th of April 1572.

CI.—KNOX TO SIR JAMES DOUGLAS OF DRUMLANRIG.[1]

Efter all trubles, thair abydis a lyfe, blissed and happie without end, to thame that dependis upoun Jesus Christ.

RYCHT worschipfull, gif I had nocht thocht to have sene your awin face befoir this, ye had not laiked my waike judgment so long, in thir present trubles. This is that which God reveillis to me, that the actione that is defendit against thea traytouris and murthereris of the Castle of Edinburghe is just, and in the end sall prevaille against Sathan, and all thame that mainteanis that wickit society. But, in the meanetyme, I sie,

[1] Sir James Douglas took an active part in public affairs; and also his son, Sir William Douglas of Hawick, who predeceased him in 1572. His descendants were afterwards raised to the Peerage, first as Marquess, and then as Duke of Queensberry.

that as Jesus Chryst behovit to be crucified, so this just actione most anes be brocht to the extremitie. The secreit causis I knaw nocht, except our synis; but I sie that tressone, fostered and mainteaned within our awin bowalis, craves of God that he sall lat us taist therof. Dead Scotland, waikin! who befoir wald nocht be admoniseth of trubles to cum! But now, in the middis of trubles, it seikis a wronge remeid; for it is neather England, France, nor Spaine, in whome God hes placed ony comfort to pure Scotland; bot onlie it restis in Him self, and only of Him most we receave it! I sie that the traffique with that Babilone, the Castle of Edinburghe, sall ones bring Scotland in that miserie that we and our posteritie sall murne for a tyme. Bot yit, Schir, be nocht ye, nor the faythfull, discouraged, for to destructione (as befoir I have said) sall it cum; and they that presentlie sufferis sall re(joice) in this lyfe, and eternallie! Communicat this with your faythfull bedfellow, with my hartelye commendationes. And sua I committ you both to the protection of the Omnipotent.

Youris,

[JOHNE KNOX.]

Lying in Sanct Androis, half deid, the 26th ofMaii 1572.

CII. - KNOX TO SIR JOHN WISCHART OF PITTARROW.

The end of all worldlie trouble and pleasure both approacheth. Blessed are they that patientlie abide in the truthe, not joyning hands nor hearts with impietie, how that ever it triumphe.

RIGHT worshipfull, after heartie commendatiounes: Your letters, dated at Pittarrow the 14th of Julie, receaved I in Sanct Andrewes, the 15th of the same. The brute and rumor of Adam Gordon and his doings, and of preparations made to resist him, was diverse, But nothing that I heard moved me, for I perceave the cuppe of iniquitie is not yitt full, Of one thing I am assured, that God in his mercie will not suffer his

owne to be tempted above measure, nather will he suffer iniquitie ever to be unpunished. Frome me can come no other counsell, than that which ye have heard frome the beginning of our acquaintance; to witt, that not onlie action defileth, and maketh guiltie before God, but also consent of heart, and all paction with the wicked.

Out of bed, and frome my booke, I come not but once in the weeke, and so few tydings come to me. What order God sall putt into the mind of the Authoritie to tak for staying of thir present troubles, I know not. But ever still my dull heart feareth the worst, and that, because I see no appearance of right conversioun to God, but both the parteis stands as it were fighting against God himself in justification of their wickednesse: the murtherers assembled in the Castell of Edinburgh, and their assisters, justifeing all that they have done to be weill and rightlie done, and the contrare party as little repenting the troubling and oppressing of the poore Kirk of God as ever they did. For if they can have the kirklands to be annexed to their houses, they appeare to tak no more care of the instructioun of the ignorant, and of the feeding of the flocke of Jesus Christ, than ever did the Papists, whom we have condemned, and yitt are worse ourselves in that behalfe. For they, according to their blind zeale, spared nothing that might either have mainteaned or holden up that which they took for God's service; but we, alas! in the middest of the light forget the heaven and draw to the earth.

Daylie looking for an end of my battell, I have sett furth an Answere to a Jesuite,[1] who long hath railed against our religion, as the reiding of this tractat will more plainlie lett you understand. The letter in the end,[2] if it serve not for this estate of Scotland, yitt it will serve a troubled conscience, so long as

[1] This mention of Knox's Answer to Tyrie fixes the date of the letter to 1572, although Calderwood gives a part of this and of No. ciii. as "Fragments of Mr. Knox his Letters," under the year 1571. See *supra*, p. 479.

[2] His letter to Mrs. Bowes, *supra*, p. 515.

the Kirk of God remaineth in either realme. With my heartie commendations to your bedfellow, and to my Lord Marshall, and to the faithfull in their companie, deliver to them the bookes according to their directions, and pray the faithfull in my name to recommend me to God in their prayers; for my battell is strong, and yitt without great corporall paine. The Lord Jesus, who hath once redeemed us, who hath also of his mercie given unto us the light of his blessed countenance, continue us in that light that once we have receaved externallie, and at his good pleasure putt an end to all the troubles of his owne spouse, the Kirk, which now sobbeth and crieth, "Come, Lord Jesus! come, Lord Jesus!" whose omnipotent Spirit conduct you to the end. Amen.

Off Sanct Andrewes, the 19th of Julie [1572].

CIII.—Knox to Mr. Christopher Goodman.

Beloved Brother,—I cannot praise God of your trouble, but that of his mercie he hath made you one against whome Satan bendeth all his ingynes. Therof unfainedlie I praise my God, beseeking him to strenthen you, to fight your battell lawfullie to the end. That we sall meit in this life, there is no hope; for to my bodie, it is impossible to be caried frome countrie to countrie, and of your comfortable presence where I am, I have small, yea, no esperance.

The name of God be praised, who of his mercie hath left me so great comfort of you in this life, that ye may understand, that my heart is peirced with the present troubles. Frome the Castell of Edinburgh have sprung all the murthers first and last committed in this realme; yea, and all the troubles and treasons contrived in England. God confound the wicked devisers, with their cruell vices. So long it hath pleased God to continue me in anie strength, I ceassed not to forewarne

these dayes publictlie, as Edinburgh can witness; and secretlie conferred, can testifie. Remedie now on earth resteth none, but onlie that both England and Scotland humblie submitt themselves to the correcting hand of God, with humble confessioun of their former inobedience, that blood was not punished when He, by his servants, publictlie craved justice, according to his law. In which head your realme is no lesse guiltie than we, who now drink the bitter part of the cuppe, which God of his mercie avert from you.

And thus wearie of the world, with my heartilie commendations to all faithfull acquaintance, Mr. Bodlih[1] and his bedfellow especiallie remembred, I committ you to the protection of the Omnipotent.

Off Sanct Andrewes [July 1572].

CIV.—Knox to the General Assembly at Perth, with certain Articles and Questions.

Fight and faint not, for the battle is short, and the victory with Jesus Christ is rich and without end.

Albeit I have tain my leave not only of you, dear Brethren, but also of the whole world and all worldlie affairs; yet remaining in the flesh I could not nor cannot cease to admonish you of things, which I know to be most prejudiciall to the Kirk of Christ Jesus within this realme. Above all things, preserve the Kirk from the bondage of the Universities. Persuade them to rule themselves peaceably, and order thair schools in Christ; but subject never the pulpit to their Judgment, neither yet exempt them from your Jurisdiction. Take heid

[1] John Bodleigh, with his wife and family, came to Geneva in June 1557. His son Thomas, who was born in 1544, was educated at that University. Their names occur in the list of exiles during the time that Knox was minister of the English congregation at Geneva. Sir Thomas Bodleigh or Bodley, who was knighted by King James after his accession, and who died in 1612, was the celebrated founder of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

that nothing proceed, under your name, be particular factions. Farther I have communicated my mind with thir two dear brethren. Hear them, and doe as ye will answer before God, who presently worketh potently, how blind that ever the world remaineth. Fight ye in the truth and for the liberty of the same, and be assured to triumph with Jesus Christ: To whose mighty protection I unfainedly commit you.

Off Sanct Andrewes, the 5th day of August 1572.

[JOHN KNOX.]

With this letter, which was sent be Mr. John Wynrame, Superintendent of Fife, and Mr. Robert Pont, were sent thir Articles following:—

1. First, Desiring a new Act to be made, ratifying all things concerning the King and his obedience that were enacted of before, without any change, and that the ministers who have contraveened the former Acts, be corrected as accordeth.

2. That sute be made to the Regent's grace and nobility maintaining the King's cause, That whatsoever proceedeth in this treaty of peace, they be mindfull the Kirk be not prejudged thereby in any sort; and they specially of the ministry, that have been robbed of their possessions within the Kirk during the time of the troubles, or otherwise dung and injured, may be restored.

3. To sute at the Regent, That no gift of any bishoprick or other benefice be given to any person contrar to the tenor of the Acts made in the time of the first Regent of good memory; and they that are given contrar the said Acts, or to any unqualified person, may be revocked and declared null be ane Act of Secret Counsell; and that all bishopricks vacand may be presented, and qualified persons nominat thereunto, within a year after the vaiking thereof, according to the order taken in Leith be the Commissioners of the Nobility and of the Kirk in the moneth of January last; and, in speciall, to complean upon the giving of the Bishoprick of Rosse to Lord Methven.

4. That no pensions of benefices great or small be given be simple donation of my Lord Regent, without consent of the possessor of the said benefices having title thereto, and the admission of the Superintendent or Commissioner of the province where this benefice lyeth, or of the Bishops lawfully elected according to the said order taken at Leith; and desire ane act of Counsell to be made thereupon unto the nixt Parliament, wherein the same be specially inacted, with inhibition to the Lords of Session to give any letters or decreets upon such simple

gifts of benefices or pensions, not being given in manner above rehearsed; and that the Kirk presently assembled declare all such gifts null, so far as lyeth in their power.

5. That the first form of presentation to benefices, which were in the first and second Regent's time, be not changed as now it is commonly; but that this clause be contained in the presentations, That if the persons presented make not residence, or be slanderous, or found unworthy either in life or doctrine be the judgment of the Kirk (to the which alwise he shall be subject), or meet to be transported to another room at the sight of the Kirk, that the said presentation, and all that shall fall thereupon, shall be null and of no force nor effect; and this to have place also in the nomination of the Bishops.

6. That ane Act be made in this Assembly, That all things done in prejudice of the Kirk's assumptions of the Thrids, either be Papists or others, in giving of fewes, liferents, or tacks, or any otherwise disponing the said assumed Thrids, be declared null, with a solemn protestation, The whole Kirk disassenteth thereto.

7. That ane Act be made, decerning and ordaining all Bishops admitted be the order of the Kirk now received, to give account of their whole rents and intromission therewith once in the year, as the Kirk shall appoint for such causes as the Kirk may easily consider the same to be most expedient and necessar.

8. Anent the jurisdiction of the Kirk, That the same be determined in this Assembly, because this article hath been very long postponed.

9. To make sute to the Regent and Counsell for remedy against messmongers and excommunicate persons.

10. Last, That order be taken anent the procurers of the Kirk, who procure against ministers and ministry, and for sisting of justice of the Kirk's actions in the Session.

Thir Questions were also presented at this Assembly:—

1. If a Bishop, being elected to a great diocie, may be admitted beside that to the office of Rectory of ane University or Provest of a Colledge, or any other like charge, or to bruike any inferior benefice.

2. If controversy rise upon doctrine, before whom shall it be treated, where the Bishops are placed according to the order of the Kirk: Whether shall the Superintendents jurisdiction expire or not.

3. If any Abbot may sett his whole abbacie in prejudice of his successors and of the ministry, for the half of the thing it payed before, or otherwise far within the availl.

Thir Articles were read in the Assembly with the former letter. The Assembly wrote again ane Answer to Mr. Knox, thus:—

The mychtie comfort of the Holy Ghost moste strengthen yow unto the end.

WE have received your writting (dear Brother in the Lord Jesus), together with certain Articles and Questions, the which we have read and diligently considered, and find the same both reasonable and godly; and therefore we have taine like order as we could for the furtherance thereof, as thir our brethren bearers of this present will declare unto you, beseeking you to comfort yourself in the mercies of God through Jesus Christ. We think it not meet to trouble you presently with long letter, seing our minds are all bent (as we believe) to sett fordward the self same cause, which our God hath putt into our hands, to the advancement of his glory and comfort of his Kirk through Jesus Christ; to whose protection we committ you.

Off Perth, the 10th of August 1572.

Your brethren and fellow members in Jesus Christ,

Mr. JOHN WYNRAME. BISCHOP OF CATHNES.
Mr. DAVID LINDESAY. JOHNE ARESKINE.
Mr. ROBERT PONT. JOHNE SPOTSWOOD.
Mr. JOHNE ROW.

CV.—KNOX'S RETURN TO EDINBURGH FROM ST. ANDREWS, August 1572.[1]

To this Assemblie[2] the Toun of Edinburgh, efter thei war come home againe to thair houses (I meane of thame that wer banished and remained not in the toun, nor tuike pairt with the traytoris of the Castell), send thair commissioneris, as alwayis before thei had done, at every Assemblie; and becaus thai wer destitute of Ministeris, desyrit that thai mycht choise whom thai pleisit to have for thair minister, becaus Mr. Johne Craig and thei had gevin uther over; for thei thocht that the said Mr. Johne Craig,[3] wha befoir was ane of thair ministeris,

[1] From Richard Bannatyne's Memorials.

[2] The General Assembly held at Perth, on the 6th of August 1572.

[3] Mr. John Craig, after leaving Edinburgh, removed first to Montrose, and then to Aberdeen, but returned as minister of the King's household in 1580. He died in 1600, at the advanced age of eighty-eight.

sweyed over meikle to the sword-hand. I will say no moir of that man: but I pray God continow with him his Holy Spreit, and that he be not drawin asyde be Lethingtoun.

The Assemblie grantit unto them to choise wher thai pleased; with a charge also to the persone whome thei wold desyre to obey, except of the tuo ministeris of Dundie and Sanct Johnstoun.[1] And thairefter the said commissoneris come to Johne Knox (now thair only minister at this present, albeit he was dwelling in Sanct Androis), to seike his advice heirin; and also delyverit to him this lettre following, direct from the Kirke and Bretherin of Edinburgh, for to will him to returne home againe, as followes:—

The Kirk and Brethren of Edinburgh to Knox.

The comfort of the Holie Spirit, for salutatioun!

Off the restoiring of us (undeservit) of our God, to this our Toun, we beleive ye ar not ignorant; and yit we can not excuse our sleuth, that has not as yit adverteised you thairof. But being trubled to obtaine that libertie whilk we had befoir our departing thairfra, quhairin we ar as yit occupied, was and is the caus of our slaknes, quhilk we doubt not ye will accept in good part. Our estait present, in that thing whilk is to us most deir, is that ministeris may be had, of whome for the present we ar destitute (you only excepted), moves us moir then ony uther thing. And for that purpose, and treating of sic uther thingis as concerne the stait of the Kirke, we directit Nicoll Udward, with Johne Johnstoun, this beirare, to the Assemblie at Sanct Johnstoun, who will certifie you of thair ansuer, which thai thair resaved. Bot becaus ye ar he to whome we are mareit undir, and we to you, we wald crave, and craves of God, gif habilitie of your persone mycht susteine travell, that ones againe your voice mycht be hard amonges us, and that thing reformed whilk sumtymes be you, under God, amonges us was planted. Laith we ar to disease or hurt your persone in ony wayis, and farre laither to want you, we being so joyned together in love, be God; and knowing your cair to be no les for us than it hes bene heirtofoir, we referre your returning to your self, and your judgment. But gif it mycht stand with your will, we desyre the samyn, maist earnestlie. And knowing the sufficiencie of the beiraris, wha will declair our myndis to you at grit length, whairin ye sall give thaim credite, we committ you to the protectione of the Eternall.

Off Edinburgh, the fourth of August, 1572.

Your Bretherin and Childrene in God (with their names subscryvit with thair owin handis).

[1] William Christisone, was minister of Dundee and Mr. John Row of Perth, or St. Johnstoun.

The presenteris of this letter wer the commissioneris of the said Kirk of Edinburgh, as said is, to wit, Nicoll Udward, and Johne Johnstoun, scribe. Whilk letter when thei had delyvered, and shewed the guid will and ansuer of the General Assemblie, requyred his advise for the choise of a minister, the Superintendent of Lowthiane being present; and after some ressoning, they concludit upoun Mr. James Lowsone, then sub-principall of the College of Aberdein, placed thair be the first Regent, the Lord of Murray.

Maister Knox, eftir the reiding of his letter, grantit to the Commissioneris and beiraris foirsaids to returne agane to Edinburgh; bot with this conditione, that he suld not be desyred or preissed in ony sort to temper his toung, or ceise to speake against the treassonabill dealingis of the Castell of Edinburgh; whois treassonabill and tyrannous doingis he wald cry out against, sa long as he wer able to speike. And thairfoir willed them to signifie the same to the whole Kirke and Bretherin of Edinburgh, leist thei sould afterward aither repent of his austeritie against the said Castle, or yit leist thai sould feir to be worst intreated for his caus. Whilkis wordis, or the like in effect, the said Mr. Knox oftymes repetite unto the Bretherin of Edinburgh, when he was returned, befoir he enterit the pulpet. Bot thai plainelie confessit that never meanit nor thocht to put a brydle to his tounge, but willed him to speike his conscience, as he had done afoir tymes.

The 17th of August, Mr. Knox departed out of Sanct Androis, not without dolore and displeasure of the few godly that wer in that toun; bot to the grit joy and pleasuire of the rest, and specialie to the Balfouris, Kirkcaldies (few thocht thei be!), and Hammiltones (enemies to God and to the King!) and their factione, for his severitie used against them in his sermondis, reproving their treasonable dealing, falsett, deceit, and trubling of this commonwealth; quhilk they culd not abyde! Bot especiallie the Hammiltones, becaus his invying against thair tressonabill murther of the first Regent; for all the tyme he was in Sanct Androis (quhilk was fra the begining of Julii, in anno 1571, till the 17 of August, in the yeir following, 1572) he preichit everie Sonday, and teichet the Prophet Daniell, to the middis of the ix chapter, alwayis applying his text (as a faithful preichore ought to doe) according to the tyme and stait of the people; whairby the wicked and trubleris of Godis Kirk myght be knowin and painted out in their cullouris! Bot, contrarielie, Mr. Robert Hammiltoun, the minister of the said toun, in all his sermondis, usit sic generalitie (as, alace! the maist part of the ministeris doe, becaus thai have no will to take upoun thaime the displeasure of men, for the reproving of vice!) that his sermondis mycht be applyed to these that susteaned the guid caus, alsweill as to the trubleris of this commoun wealth, and the puire Kirke within it: quhas doingis he alwayis went about to suppres and cover, that the

same suld not appeir to the eies of the multitude; thinking it sufficient, as oftymes was said, to have ane approved authore for ony thing he spake. Bot the word of God aucht to be distributed as a guid and faithfull phisitiane (quhilk a minister aucht to be to the saule and conscience of men) doeth his medicine, that is, according to the disease of the patient, and not to think it sufficient to give unto him guid medicine; for that which is guid for one, is death for another; and that medicine that is proper and also profitable for ane disease, is most noysome and hurtfull to another! Therfoir, as I have said, the medicine most be applyed as is most convenient for the curing of the disease of the seik; even so most and aucht everie trew preicheore distribute the medicine of Godis trew word. But how this is done now a dayis (alace!) is moir than evident. Becaus, I say, Johne Knox did thus use himself in his sermondis, it gendrit unto him a deidlie hatred and envye of all the foirsaidis in Sanct Androis, and especiallie of the Principallis of the New College and the Auld (a few exceptit); and yit, be outward gesture, and befoir his face, thei wald seime and apeir to favore and love him above the rest.

The caus why I speik this is, that at the inauguratioune of the Bischope of Sanct Androis foirsaid, altogether against the mynd of Mr. Knox,[1] as he at that tyme oppinly spake in pulpet, he gritlie inveyed against sic ordour and doingis as then was uset. Bot Mr. Johne Rutherfurde, Proveist of the Auld College, called Sanct Salvatoris College, said that Mr. Knox did so earnestlie speike against that doing, and macking of Mr. Johne Douglas bischope, becaus he gat not the Bischoprike himself! Whairunto Mr. Knox maid ansuer the next Sonday, in the pulpet, that he had refuised a gritter Bischopricke[2] then ever it was, which he mycht have had with the favore of gritter men then ever the uther had this bischoprike, and yit did refuse. Bot only that he spake for discharge of his conscience; and that the Kirke of Scotland suld not be subject to that ordore which then was used, considdering the Lordis of Scotland had subscryvit, and also confirmed in Parliament, the ordore alreadie and long agoe appointed, in the Buike of Discipline. Also the said Mr. Johne Rutherfurde, at what tyme one of his Colledge, called Mr. Homere Blair, hath made oratione, invective against Sanct Leonardis Colledge, affirming thaim to be als guiltie of the death of Mr. Williame Ramsay, as Jamie of Bothwelhauch was of the Regentis slauchter, whome he shot with a culvering in Linlythgow; with other mony injuries against the young men of that College. Mr. Johne Rutherfurde, I say, fearing Mr. Knox sould have spocken sumwhat

[1] In a previous page Bannatyne says, that on Sunday the 10th of February 1571-2, John Knox preached at St. Andrews, the Lord of Morton being present. But he refused to inaugurate Mr. John Douglas, who had been elected Bishop of St. Andrews, etc. (Memorials, p. 22).

[2] The See of Rochester.

in his nixt sermond against the said oratione, or els sumquhat for the said young men, or regentis of the said College, sendis to Mr. Knox his letter following :—

Mr. Johne Rutherfurd, *Provest of St. Salvator's College*,[1] *St. Androis, to* Johne Knox.

Brother in the Lord Jesus, I am within this half houre adverteised, that some of the regentis of Sanct Leonardis College hath bene at yow with some repoirt of the thingis that was spockin in the schooles be ane Regent of our College in his oratioune publict: I desyre you not to medle with thea meateris, while both the parties be hard; for the auld saying is trew, "Wha evill speikis evill heiris!" It was reported what ansuer I gaive to the Bischope, be the beddell; of the quhilkis thair was thir wordis, as was referrit be sum to you: That I said, "Cowper in Fyffe and Sanct Johnstoun wer ever authoris of seditione!" Bot this I said, that "in Cowper and in Sanct Johnstoun was oft seditione, and swa the personis of these tounes shuld beine war withall." (Lat men tak it as they pleis!) I wald the wordis wer fals that I said. Be Godis grace, in Sanct Androis sall none be moir willing of quyetness nor I; and I assuir you, that I never knew, nor in ony sort understude, what he that made the oratioun was to speik, whill I hard him in the schooles. And yit, when all salbe tried befoir the honestest of the Universitie, it wilbe fund utherwayis nor men speikis; and gif thair be fund fault with the man, it sall not defend him. Bot, in the meintyme, I wald ye medled nothing in the mater, as it aperteinis nothing to you; and I assuire you that we have als guid zeale in this College towardis Godis word, and als guid opinione of you, as ony uther. Ye will remember heirafter of this my adverteisment. Committing you to Godis protectioune, not willing to truble you ather with wryting or talking,

Your assuired Brother in the Lord Jesus,
Mr. Johne Rutherfurde.

The nixt Sonday Mr. Knox, into the pulpet, declaired the contentis of this letter send unto him, without the expressing of his name that send it, schawing that hitherto nane could accuse him of medling in

[1] Rutherfurd was a native of Jedburgh, and spent the early part of his life in France. He was, in the year 1553, invited by Archbishop Hamilton to accept the Professorship of Humanity in the newly erected College of St. Mary at St. Andrews; and in 1560, having embraced the Reformed doctrines, he became Principal of St. Salvator's College in that University. As head of that College, he was *ex officio* Rector or Minister of the parish of Cults, in Fife. He died before December 1577, soon after republishing his work *De Arte Disserendi Libri quatur*. Edinburgi, 1577, 4to. See M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. ii. pp. 367-371, 474.

materis which aperteinet not unto him ; notwithstanding, whair offences wer oppinly committed, he of his office aught to reprove thaim, whidder thai wer done in the Colleges or not ; and that he knew the pairt of the young men of Sanct Leonardis College to be uprycht and just in that matter ; and thairfoir he wald justifie thair caus. Bot for the plainer declaratioune of this mater, we man open the same as the treuth is ; and quhilk I know to be most trew indeid.

Thair hes evir bene, of auld, a privie hatred of the uther tuo Colleges against Sanct Leonardis, which began sumwhat more to incres eftir the depairtore of the man of God, Mr. Gudeman, out of Sanct Androis, wha thair was minister ; in whais rowme Mr. Robert Hammiltoun foirsaid enterit, and was minister.

Now when the trubles began, efter the Kingis slauchter, that was murthered be the Queine, with whome the Hammiltounes joyned (to their wraike), the said Mr. Robert began to be sumwhat caulder in his sermondis then he was wont of befoir ; for in the tyme that my Lord of Murray had the handling of the Court in the Queinis tyme, he wald not spair to reprove, most seveirlie, whatsoever he knew to be done amiss, ather be the Queine, in the Court, or utherwayis. But now, I say, when that the Hammiltounes did joyne with the Queine in the defence of hir, efter the murther of hir owin husband, he began to grow cauld in his sermondis, and never spake a word of these materis, as gif thei never aperteinet unto him ; and sua from tyme to tyme he thus continowed, till at lenth the young men, regentis of Sanct Leonardis Colledge, thinking him to be sumwhat changed, began to admonise him, and desyre him first (as I understand) to pray for the Regent, my Lord of Murray, and the rest of his cumpany, for thair prosperous returne out of England, whair thai wer for the tyme, for tryall of the Quenis schamfull act, before the Queine of England : Bot for all thair admonishing of him, he did nathing, but rather drew uther ministeris with him to disallow all thingis done against the Queine and Kingis coronatioune ; quhilk opinly thei spak not, becaus thei durst not, at the first ; but as trubles began, so did he and thei of his faction moir and moir utter thaimselves, till at lenth the foirsaid young men of Sanct Leonardis College did opinly complaine of the said Mr. Robert and utheris of the Generall Assemblie of the Kirke, and gave in particulare accusatiounes against them, that thei did not pray for the Regentis grace foirsaid, and for the King, and for sundrie thingis spocken be thaim, tending to the derogatioune of the Kingis authoritie ; with dyverse utheris thingis, which to recite wer tuo long. And amonges the rest that wer accused, Mr. Williame Ramsay (a learned and a guid man, but seducit be the Hammiltounes factione, and Mr. Johne Rutherfurde), nixt undir the said Mr. Johne, Proveist of Sanct Salvatoris Colledge, was one, for sum thingis he had spocken for plea-

sure of the Hammiltounes; for thei made him beleive that a dochter of the auld chamerlandis of Sanct Androis, callit Hammiltoun, wald marie him, whome he eirnestly desyred; whairby he was drawin to follow thair factione: Bot Mr. Williame, being callit befoir the Assemblie, tuike grit displeisoure, and was not a littil commoved in his mynd, whairthrow he tuike seiknes, and schortlie died. He confessed to some that, for the pleisoure of his intyseris, he did against his conscience, which movit him to gritter dolore in his hart; bot alwayis, he deid of two or thrie dayis seiknes. Whilk his disease or seiknes apeired the Sonday befoir his death, being in pulpet, and being requyred be Mr. Robert Hammiltoun, befoir, to preich that Sonday efternoune, was so caried away, as ane without memorie, so that he culd not observe his mater; and efter he come fra the pulpet, tuike his bedd, and within thrie dayis (as said is) died. A fearfull document of Godis judgmentis to monie now a dayis, wha dois cleane contrarie to thair knowledge and conscience; upoun whome Godis judgmentis sall stryke in gritter measoure, gif God make them not repent! Becaus, I say, the Regentis and young men of Sanct Leonardis College summouned Mr. Williame Ramsay to the Generall Assemblie (as said is), which was the cause that he tuik his seiknes and died, they of the auld Colledge, callit Sanct Salvatoris Colledge, bure thaim evir since sic indignatioune, that thei socht alwayes to lay the blame of his death upoun thame; whilk this young man did, Mr. Homer Blair, in open schooles, in his oratione (as said is). And this was the caus of his invyeing against the said College; for the whilk oratione Mr. Johne Rutherfurde, being Proveist of the said auld Colledge, wrote as we have hard.

Bot to returne to thame wha buire privie indignatioune, in hart, unto Mr. Knox for his maner of doctrine, and yit in countenance wald apeir to love him as thair brother, in speciall was the said Mr. Robert Hammiltoun, wha had sparced abroad and tauld to sundrie, that Mr. Knox was als grit a murtherer as ony Hammiltoun in Scotland, gif all thingis wer well tryed; and thairfoir suld not cry out so fast against murthereris! For (said Mr. Robert) he had subscryvit to the death or slaughter of the Quenis husband, me Lord Darnelie, with my Lord of Murray, quhilk sould have bene done in Sanct Johnstoun, as said is. Thir wordis Mr. James Hammiltoun declaired to me, beand Mr. Knoxis servand; and also said, that the said Mr. Robert had diverse tymes spocken the same unto him, and to ane called Mr. Johne Carnegie, ane uther Regent that tyme in the said New Colledge. Quhilkis wordis, when I hard, I said, I could not of my honour conceill the same, but wald avow him to be the speiker thairof to me; and willed him not to goe bake thairof. Eftir that I had declaired thir wordis to my maister, he wrote to Mr. Robert on this maner, being ewill at eas for the tyme:—

CVI.—KNOX TO MR. ROBERT HAMMILTOUN, MINISTER OF ST. ANDREWS.

Thair is nothing so secreit but salbe reveiled!

BECAUS the inhabilitie of my body is sic that I may not do the thing quhilk utherwayis I wald gladly, I write unto you (not without pane) these few wordis, desyring to be resolved whidder that ye have affirmed (to ane or mae) that ye have sene my subscriptioune and consent to the murther of the Lord Darnley. Off your awin conscience and knawledge ye your self can best testifie. I crave your ansuir, affirmative or negative.

JOHNE KNOX.

Quhilk I delyverit the 15 of November, in anno 1571, and requyred his ansuir; bot his schifting wordis, spoken to me, mycht have maid ony man sufficientlie beleive that he had spocken the same. But after long talk, he willed me to give this ansuer: That he neidit not to have writtin unto him, for gif he would have send the leist boy to his hous, he sould cum to him and satisfie him. Whilkis wordis I reported agane.

Thaireftir my maister schew the mater to the rector, Mr. Johne Douglas, new maid Bischope, and to Mr. Johne Rutherfurde, desyring thame to speike Mr. Robert to satisfie this sclander, or elis to byd be it; whilk gif he wold nocht, he wald complene to the Kirke. Thairaftir come the said Mr. Robert, and talketh with my maister. What it was I know not, bot when I come in upoun thame, my maister willed me schaw him that I tauld him it; which I confessed, and schew wha spake the same to me; whilk when I hard, I said, I culd nocht, neather of honestie nor honour, conceill the same; adding farder, that, "Gif I knew my maister to be sic a man, I wold nocht serve him for all the geir in Sanct Androis!"

Then the tryall of the matter was referred to me, RICHARD BANNATYNE, be command of my maister; whairof I thocht Mr. Robert had litle will, or none at all. After finding fit opportunitie, I confronted the said Mr. James (Hammiltoun) and Mr. Robert (Hamiltoun) together; which he denyed, but the uther affirmed in his face to be most trew that he had so spoken, not only unto him, but also unto Mr. Johne Carnegie, to bring Mr. Knox in hatrent and disdaine. Mr. Robert said he suld caus the uther repent his speiking, and that he suld have him befoir the Kirke to make the mendis. Then, said I, "Gif ye be inno-

cent, and not have spocken it, ye will do so; bot gif that be not done, it may easilie be knowin that ye have spocken the same." Bot thair was no moir thairof, except that he said he sould cans Mr. James repent it: Quhilk he and the rest of the Hammiltounes did what thei could, till at lenth he was compellit to leive the College. Utheris mocked him, calling him "Knoxis byrd!" with sic uther taunts. God grant thaim repenting hartes, to acknowledge thair despite they have against that poure man, becaus he had a favour to Mr. Knox!

Also Mr. Archbald Hammiltoun for a long tyme come not to Johne Knoxis sermondis, becaus that he affirmed, in his teiching, that Hammiltounes wer murthereris. And a day being apointed to him to give a ressone why he come not to the said Mr. Knoxis sermond, as he was apointed be the Superintendent and be the Bischope, Mr. Johne Douglas? I can not tell quhither be the one, or be thame bothe, that he sould come to my maisteris hous, befoir the said Bischope of Sanct Androis, the Bischope of Caitnes, Mr. Johne Wynrome, Mr. James Wilkie, Primarius of Sanct Leonardis Colledge, and Mr. Johne Rutherfurde, Deane of Facultie and Proveist of the auld Colledge. And being convenit, the said Mr. Archbald baid styfe, and said, that he was greived to sie the place (meaning the pulpet) so abused as it was. Whairunto Mr. Knox willed thame to take sic ordore as thei wald ansuer to God, as ane day thai sould, give ordore wer nocht put to his contempt. At what tyme nothing was done, saving that aither of thame maid thair protestatiounes, in forme and maner as followes:—

JOHNE KNOX'S *Protestatioune.*

THE 18 of Julii, 1572. The quhilk day Mr. Knox protestit, that no thing being done nor to be done in this privie assemblie, prejudge the Kirke of God within Scotland, at ony tyme heirefter. And first, I protest that nather the pulpet of Sanct Androis, nather yit of ony congregatioune within the Realme, be subject to the censure of the schooles, universitie, or facultie within the same; bot only that it be reserved to God, the Judge of all, and to the General Assemblie gatherit within the same realme, lauchfullie. The ressone of this my protestatioune is, that I luike for no better regiment in tymes to cum then hes bene in ages passing befoir us; in the whilk it is evident, that universities, orderis weill establishit, and men raised up to defend the Kirke of God, have opprest it; and the malice of Sathan is alwayis to be feared.

MR. ARCHBALD [HAMMILTOUN'S] *Protestatioune.*

THE quhilk day Mr. Archbald Hammiltoun, following the auctoritie and command of the most venerable Lordis, my Lord of Sanct Androis, Caitnes, the Deane of Facultie in Theologie, and uther principall heidis

in the Universitie of Sanct Androis, compeirit in the inner chalmer of Mr. Knoxis, in the new ludgene of the Abbey, who be his owin, and be him being charged for not cuming to his preiching, agriet halilie to the said Mr. Knox first protestatioune; protesting lykwayis with him, That nothing in this privie conventione be done suld be prejudiciall either to ane trew reformed Kirke, either to the liberties and godly constitutiounes of this our Universitie. Secondly, the said Mr. Archbald[1] protestis, That nather he, nor any uther faithfull in the Universitie, be thrallit to ony minister wha exemis him self fra ordore and godly discipline; and cheiflie, when as the minister sall take that licence, that doctrine, to publishe in the pulpet, which afoir ordinar judges he refuises to defend in scholes, to schaw it to be consonant unto the word of God: And his ressone is, that be the contentment of the whole learned and godly, it is affirmed, schooles to have bene intertained from the begining in all reformed Kirkis, to this purpose chieflie, that sanitie of doctrine mycht be reteaned, and schismes and heresies avoydit.

After Mr. Knoxis departore furth of Sanct Androis (as said is), he landit at Leith the 23 of August; and eftir certane dayis taryeing thair, he come to Edinburgh, to the comfort of those that wer banishit, as he was; and preichit in the pulpet of Edinburgh on Sonday the last of August. Bot becaus his voice was feebled and waike, and thairfoir culd not be hard of the whole multitude that convenit, he desyred thame to provyde for that place; for he confessed, that his voice was never able (the best tyme that ever he was) to extend to all that come together in Sanct Geillis Kirke,[2] and meikle les now was it able to satisfie the auditore, seing that he was so waike, and his voice so farre spent. Thairfoir he desyrit thame that some uther place mycht be appointed for him, whair his voice mycht be hard, gif it wer but unto ane hundreth personis: Which efterwardis was done.

At this tyme was Mr. James Lowsone send for, out of Abirdeine, to cum to Edinburgh; and thairfoir thei desyrit Mr. Knox to writ for him; which he did, as followes:—

[1] This Mr. Archibald Hammilton soon after left Scotland for France, where he abjured the Protestant faith, and published two works, in 1579 and 1581, filled with the most calumnious statements against Knox and the other Reformers: See *infra*, p. 646.

[2] The Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, in the course of the last three centuries has undergone so many alterations, that it is not easy to assign the precise limits of the Great Kirk to which Knox refers. It might be called the Nave of the Church, as only a portion of what is now called the High Church or New Kirk was then made use of for public worship; and it probably was part of the south-west corner, known as "the Tolbooth Church" in which he latterly was able to preach.

CVII.—KNOX TO MR. JAMES LOWSONE.[1]

All worldlie strength (yea even in thingis spirituall) decayeth; and yit sall never the worke of God decay!

BELOVIT BROTHER,---Seing that God of his mercie, far above my expectatioune, has callit me ones againe to Edinburgh, and yit that I feill nature so decayed, and daylie to decay, that I luike not for a long continowance of my battell, I wald glaidlie ones discharge my conscience into your bosome, and into the bosome of utheris in quhome I thinke the feir of God remaines. Gif I hath had the habilitie of bodie, I sould not have put you to the paine to the quhilk I now requyre you, that is ones to visite me, that we may conferre together of heavinlie thingis; for into earth thaire is no stabilitie, except the Kirke of Jesus Christ, ever fightand under the crose, to whose mychtie protectione I heartlie committ you.

JOHNE KNOX.

Off Edinburgh, the 7th of September 1572.

Haist, leist ye come to laite![2]

Eftir the receit heirof, the said Mr. James come to Edinburgh, about the 15 or 16 of September, and preichit in the kirke the Fryday eftir; which was lyked of all the auditore. And the Sonday thaireftir, which was the 21 of September, Mr. Knox began and preichit in the Tolbuith, quhair he contineweth to preich every Sonday, so lang as God gave him strenth.

[1] See an account of Lowsone or Lawson, who died at London in October 1584, in M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. ii. pp. 214-218; the Wodrow Miscellany, p. 447; and Calderwood's History, vols. iii. and iv.

[2] In Calderwood's MS., 1636, is this note :—"To the foresaid letter Mr. Knox added this postscript, *Accelera mi Frater, alioqui sero venies*, 'Make haist, Brother, otherwise yow will come too late,' meaning that if he made any stay hee should find him dead and gone. These last words moved Mr. Lawson to take journey the more quickly."

CVIII.—Henry Killigrew to Sir William Cecill, Lord Burghley, and Robert Earl of Leicester.

The Postscript of your Lordship's letter I answer thus: I trust to satisfy Morton, and for John Knox, that thing ye may se by my dyspatch to Mr. Secretary, is don and doing dayly: The people in generall well bent to England, abhorring the fact in France, and fearing their tiranny.

John Knox is now so feble as scarce can he stand alone, or speak to be hard of any audience; yet dothe he every Sonday cause himselfe to be caried to a place, where a certayn nombre do here him, and precheth with the same vehemence and zeale that ever he did. He dothe reverence your Lordship myche, and willed me once agayn to send you worde, that he thanked God he had obtained at his hands, that the gospel of Jesus Christ is truely and simply preached thorowout Scotland, which dothe so comfort him, as he now desireth to be out of this myserable lyffe. He said further, that it was not long of your Lordship that he was not a great bischope in England; but that effect growen in Scotland, he being an instrument, dothe myche more satisfy him. He desired me to make his last commendations most humbly to your Lordship, and withall, that he prayed God to increase his strong spirit in you, saying, there was never more nead. And quoth he to me, "Take heed how you believe them of the Castle, for sure theye will deceave you; and trust me, I know they seake nothing more than the ruyne of your Mistress, which they have been about of long tyme."

[Edinburgh, 6th of October 1572].

By your good Lordshipps most bounden

H. Kylligrew.[1]

To the right honorable my singular good Lorde the Tresurer of Englande, and to the right honorable the Erle of Lester.

[1] Bannatyne, in mentioning Killigrew's arrival, as ambassador from Queen Elizabeth, September 1572, styles him "a good and godly Protestant."

CIX. —Richard Bannatyne's Account of Knox's last Illness and Death.

Sonday the nynt of November 1572, was Mr. James Lowsone inaugurat in the pulpet of Edinburgh be Johne Knox, eftir that he had come fra the Tolbuith, whair he preached: And at that tyme declaired to the whole assemblie (as his waike voice wuld serve, quhilk was heard but of a few) the dewtie of ane minister, and also thair dewtie to him lykwayis; and so made the mariage, in a maner, betwixt Mr. James Lowsone, then made minister, and the folke; and so praysed God, that had gevin thame one in the place of himself that was now unable to teiche, and desyred God to augment him a thowsand fold above that that he had, gif it wer his pleisoure; and so with the commone blessing endit.

The Tuysday eftir this, the said Mr. Knox was stricken with a grit hoist, whairwith he being so febled, caused him upoun the 13 day leve his ordinar reading of the Byble; for ilk day he red a certane chepteris, both the Auld Testament and of the New, with certane psalmes, quhilk psalmes he passed through everie moneth once. Also the same threttein day he desyred his Wyfe to pay his servandis fies, saying, he wald never give thame another fie; quhilk on the morne he said to his servand, Jamie Campbell, in geving him his fie, "Thou will never get no moir of me in this lyfe!" And sua gave him xxs. above his said waiges.

Upoun the Thurisday, efter Mr. Knox tuike his seiknes, which pat end to his long travelis, quhilk he maist earnestlie cravet of God. Williame Maitland, sumtymes secretar, send doun this letter out of the Castle to the Sessione of Edinburgh, compleaning upoun the said Mr. Knox, as followes:—

Letter from WILLIAME MAITLAND, *Secretary to the Session of Edinburgh.*

IT is cum to our eires be credible report, that your minister, Johne Knoxe, alsweill publict in his sermondis as utherwayis, hes slanderit me as ane atheist, and enemie to all religione, in direct speiches, that I have plainlie spocken in the Castell, that "thair is nather heavin nor hell," and that "thai ar thingis devysed to fray bairnes;" with uther sic language tending to the lyke effect, unworthie of Christiane earis to be rehersit in the hearing of men. Which wordis, befoir God, never at ony tyme proceidit from my mouth, nor yit ony uther sounding to the lyke purpose, nor whairof ony sic sentence mycht be gathered; for (praised be God!) I have bene brocht up from my youth and instructed in the feir of God, and to know that he has appointed heavin for the habitatioune of his elect, and also hell for the everlasting dwelling of the reprobat.

Seing he hes thus ungentlie used me, and neglected his dewtie, vocatioun, the rewle of Christiane cheritie, and all guid ordour, maliciouslie and untrewlie lieth on me, I crave redres thairof at your handis, and that ye will tak sic order thairwith, that he may be compellit to nominat his authoris, and prove his alledgance, to the end that gif it be found trew (as I am weill assuired he sall not be able to verifie it in ony sort), I may worthilie be repute the man he paintis me out to be; and gif (whairof I have no doubt) the contrare fall out, ye may use him accordinglie; at leist that heireftir ye ressave not every word proceading from his mouth as oracles; and knaw that he is bot a man subject to vanitie; and that mony tymes dois utter his owin passiones, and uther menis inordinat affectiones, in place of trew doctrine. It is convenient that, according to the Scriptouris, ye beleive not every spirit, but try the spreitis, whither thai ar of God or not!

W. MAITLAND.

Unto this letter the Sessione and Kirke of Edinburgh made this ansuer, on Thurisday the 20 of November, be him that brocht the letter, as followes:—

Ansuer be the Sessione and Kirke of Edinburgh.

ANENT the complante gevin in this day 8 dayis befoire the Sessione of this burcht of Edinburgh, be Johne Robertsone, in name of Williame Maitland, and subscryvit with his hand, as he affirmes; and anent the ansuer desyrit be the said Johne thairupoun, it being deferred to this day, and the Sessione of the Kirke thairwith ryplie advisit; for ansuer, findis it guid that the compliner authorise the presenter of the supplicatioune with sufficient mandat, and that he dedeigne him self (gif he seikis ony benefite of the said Kirke of the burcht foirsaid) to direct his supplicatioune to the ministeris, elderis, and deacones now present, admittand thame as judges in that caus, as use is.

Tuo or thrie dayis efter the ingeving of the said lettre, it was red to Mr. Knox, wha be ressone of his infirmitie and seiknes could nocht ansuer the same, whilk glaidlie he wald have done, gif God had gevin him habilitie and longer dayis.

The Fryday, which was the 14 day, he rose above his accustomed dyet; and yit when he did ryse, he could scairse sit in a stuile: And then being demandit, what he wald doe up? said, he wald goe to the kirke and preich, for he thocht it had bene Sonday; and said that he had bene all nicht meditating upoun the resurrectione of Christ, which he sould have preichit after the death of Christ, whilk he had finishit in his last sermonde the Sonday befoir; for oft and monie tymes he wishit and desyred of God that he mycht end his dayis in the teiching and meditatioune of that doctrine, quhilk he did.

The Setterday, Johne Durie and Archbald Stewart come in about 12 houris, not knowing how seike he was; and for thair cause come to the table, which was the last tyme that ever he sat at ony therefter; for he caused peirce ane hoggeid of wine

which was in the seller, and willed the said Archbald send for the same so long as it lasted, for he wald never tarie untill it wer drunkin.

Sonday, the 16 day, he keipit his bed, and wald take no meit (thinking it had beine the first Sonday of the Fast), quhilk the Laird of Braid[1] schew him the contraire; wha sat in the chalmer and dyned befoir his bedsyde, and caused him take a litill.

Befoir, he earnestlie desyred the kirke (I meane the elderis and deacones) that he mycht bid thaim his last guidnycht, as he had done befoir in the pulpet, at the inauguratioune of Mr. James Lowsone, saying, That he wald never enter that place againe.

Upoun Mononday the 17 day, the kirke come, according to his desyre, unto whome he protestit that he had taught nothing but trew and sound doctrine, beating doun, be the threatnings of Godis judgments, the proud and stubborne, and raising up and comforting the trubled consciences be the promises of Godis mercies; and that howsoever that he had bene against ony man, it was never for hatreat of the persone, but only to beat doun in thame thair vice, and that quhilk was in them that rebelled against God, quhilk he wald nocht leive unpunishit, and for discharge of his conscience afoir God; and that he made not merchandise of the word, whose message he bure, to whom he most make accompt for the same. In respect quhairof (albeit he was waike and ane unworthie creature, and a fearfull man), he feared not the faces of men; and thairfoir exhorted thaim to stand constant into that doctrine quhilk they had hard of his mouth (how unworthie that ever he was), and willit thaim never to joyne with wickitness, and speciallie with the Castle of Edinburgh, it remaining in the steat that it is, quhom God wald destroye both in bodie and saule, and thei repent not! And albeit thei sould not triumph in this world, and truble as they had done, yit prayed he thame never to have doingis with

[1] Robert Fairlie of Braid.

that factione, but rather chuse, with David, to flie to the mon taines, then to remaine in the cumpany of the wicked. And that severitie that he used against the Laird of Grange, with quhom he hes bene sa familiar, was only to bring him to acknowledge him self, and his schamefull declyning, that thairby he mycht turne to repentence, whairof he doubted: And for this purpose he willed Mr. David Lindsay, being then present, and Mr. James Lowsone, to signifie to the Laird that Johne Knox remanis the same man, now going to die, that ever he hes hard him befoir, quhen he was able of body; and that thei sould will him to considder what anes he was, and the estait whairin now he standis, quhilk is pairt of his truble; and that gif he repentit not, the threatiningis be him pronounced sould fall upoun him and that house!

As for ansuer to the Secretaris[1] bill, he desyred all men to considder thair workis, and specialie the rewingis of Edinburgh attoure the trubling of this quyet commoun wealth, and the Kirke of God within the same; quhilkis wer a sufficient declaratioune, to him and the whole world, that he denyed thair wer ony God to punishe sic wickitness, or yet ony heavin or hell whairin vertew sould be rewardit or vice punished: The workaris thairof God wald destroy and punishe, as mycht be sene in the 9 Psalme, which gif thei did beleive, they wald never have committed sic ungodly and unnatural wickitnes. And for ansuer to that he said, he was "brocht up and instructed in the feir of God," etc., it was not the educatioune that made a trew Christiane, nather yit that brocht the feir and knowledge of God to ony man, but only the illuminatioune of the hart be the Spreit of God: for who was better brocht up than Julianus the apostate, and sundrie utheris? As to the nominatioune of the reportaris, quhilk the bill requyred, he refusit, althocht he could weill aneughe have done it. Whair the bill said that "Johne Knox was a man subject to vanitie, and all is not oracles

[1] The letter of the Secretary, Sir William Maitland, *supra*, p. 635.

that comes out of his mouth:" Whairto the said Mr. Knox ansueris, That he confessit he was but a most vile creature and a wretched man; nochttheles the thingis that he hes spoken sould be fund als trew as these oracles that have bene spocken be ony of the servandis of God befoir; for he had said nothing but that whairof he was assuired to be the word of God (to wit), that the justice of God sould never be satisfiet against the schedderis of innocent bloude, untill the bloud of the schedder be sched againe, be order of justice, to satisfie the same; or els, that God utherwayis move his heart unto unfained repentance; and that God walde destroye the wickit and cast them into hell, as may be sene in the 9th Psalme, quhilk he caused thaim reid; for he hes bene the chiefe author of all the trubill done both in England and Scotland. And so, with exhortatioune unto thaim all, he commendeth thaim to God; who after the prayer red for the seike (as it is in the Psalme buke), thai depairtit with tearis.

Eftir this speiking he was the wors, and tuike a gritter and mair vehement working, for he never spake almost but with grit paine; and yit verie few come in (that he saw) to whome he gave not sum admonitione or exhortatioun.

Befoir his seiknes, he gave command to his wyfe and his servant Richard, that when God sould send him seikness, [and] that he was not able to reid him self, that then one of thaim sould reid unto him ilk day the 17 chapter of Sanct Johnes Gospel, a chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesianis, and the 53 of Esaii; whilk was done:—so that few houris, or none, of the day did pas over, whairin sumwhat was not red, besydis, according as he wald appoint, and oftymes sum sermondis of Calvine in Frenche, and of the Psalmes; and sundrie tymes when as we wald be reiding of the foirsaidis sermondis (which wer upoun the Ephesianis), thinking him to be asleip, we wald aske gif that he hard? Whairto he wald ansuer, "I heir, I prais God, and understandis far better!" Whilk wordis he spake the last tyme, about foure houris befoir his last braith.

The Lord Boyd come in unto him and said, "I know, Sir, that I have offendit you in monie thingis, and am now cum to crave you pardon." But what farder was betwixt thame I know not, for thei wer allone.

The Lord of Morton, Boyde, and the Laird of Drumlanrige, come in the Weddinsday, the 19 day. What purpose was amongis thame, none but thaim selves knew.

The nixt day, the Lord Lindsay, Bischope of Caitnes, and sundrie utheris gentlmen, come in, whome he exhorted to continow in the treuth that thei had hard, for uther word of saluatione thair is none! And earnestlie besought thaim (as he did to everie one that he spake unto) to "have nothing to doe with that dampnable hous of the Castell of Edinburgh! I meane nocht (sayis he) be the stanes, etc., but be thois that ar within that hous; whom God sall confound, baith in this lyfe and eternallie in body and soule, gif thai repent not, whilk appeiris nocht, and make thair names to remaine in execratioune to the posteritie to cum!"

My Lordis Ruthwen, Glencairne, and diverse utheris, at sundrie tymes, did visie him; but my Lord Ruthwen (wha come but anes) said, "Gif thair be ony thing, Sir, that I am able to doe for you, I pray you charge me." Who ansuerit, "I cair not for all the pleisoure and friendschip of the world."

A gentle woman, and ane that fearis God, desyring him to praise God for that he had bene; and sa began, as it wer, to praise him, he said, "Tounge! tounge! ladie; flesche of itself is over proud, and neidis no meanis to esteame the self!" And thair also protested, as oftymes he did befoir and eftir, that he did "onlie cleame to the frie mercie of God, schawed unto mankynd in the blude of his deare Sone, Jesus Christ, quhom only I embraced for his perfectione, justice, rychteousness," etc.: And willed her never to puff up flesche, which of it self was to prone and reddie to do the same, without ony uther provocatioune; and so exhorted hir unto humilitie, and to "cast

away stinking pryde;" and desyred hir to remember the wordis of a woman, spocken to hir long agoe, saying, "Ladie! ladie! the blake oxe hes never trampit yit upoun your foote!" And so, with exhortatioune in the feare of God, and into that doctrine which thai have hard of him, he baid theim fair weill!

At this tyme also, thir being depairtit, he sayis to the Laird of Braid, "Ilk ane biddis me guidnycht, but when will ye do it? I have bene greatly behaldin and addebted unto you, quhilk I am never able to recompence you: Bot I committ you to one who is able to doe it, that is, to the Eternal God!"

Upoun Fryday, the xxi day, he commandit Richard to gar make his kist,[1] whairin he was borne to his buriall.

Sonday, the 23 day (which was the first Sonday of the Fast), at efternoune, all being at the kirke except thame that waited upoun him, eftir that he had lyne a guid space verie quyet, as we thocht, he sayis, "Gif ony be present, lat them come and sie the worke of God!" for then he thocht to have departit, as we judged. At what tyme I send for Johne Johnstoun, he burstis furth in thir wordis, "I have been in meditatioune thir tuo last nightis of the trubled Kirke of God, the spouse of Jesus Christ, despised of the warld, but precious in his sight! I have callit to God for it, and have committit it to hir Head, Jesus Christ! I have been fightand against Sathan, who is evir reddie to assault; yea, I have fochten against spirituall wickitnes in heavinlie thingis, and have prevailed! I have bene in heavin and have possession, and I have tasted of these heavinlie joyes, whair presentlie I am!" And thaireftir said the Lordis Prayer, and the Beleife, with some paraphraise, upoun everie petitione and article of thaim; and in saying, "Our Father which art in heaven," he sayis, "Who can pronounce so holie wordis!"

Eftir the sermond, monie come in to sie him; and sum seing him draw his braith so schortlie, askit, "Gif he had ony paine?" Whilk when he understoode, ansuerit and said, "I have no

[1] "Kist," chest, coffin.

moir pane then he that is now in heavin, and am cor
God so pleis, to lye heir for sevin yeiris:" Thairfoir
oft and sundrie tymes, "Live in Christ, and let nev
feare death:" His meaning was, that gif we live in C
man sall feare death.

When he wald be lying, as we supposed, on a sl
was he at his meditatioune, as his manifold sentences n
declair; as this that I have befoir said, whairin he wa
burst furth, "Live in Christ:" and, "Lord grant us t
and perfyte hatrel of syn, alsweill be the document of
cies as of thy judgmentis:" "Lord grant trew pastori
Kirke, that puritie of doctrine may be reteaned; an
pace againe to this commonewealth, with godly rewl
and magistratis:" etc. "Anes, Lord, make ane end of
"Lord I commend my spreit, saull and body, and
thy handis:" With innumerable sic lyke sentences.

Mononday, which was the 24 of November, he depa
lyfe to his eternal rest: He rose about 9 or ten ho
wald nocht lye and yit he was not able to stand alone),
on his hoise and doublat, and sat in ane chair the spac
ane houre; and thairefter went to bed, whair he w
drawing of his end. And being askit of the gudman o
incleuch, "Gif he had ony paine?" said, "It is no
paine, but sic a paine as, I trust, sall put end to this
He sayis also to the said Robert, "I man leive the ca
wife and bairnes unto you, to whome ye man be a hus
my rowme."[1]

A litill efter none, he caused his wyfe reid the 15 cl
the First Epistle to the Corinthianis, off the resurrect

[1] Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleuch, in Ayrshire, a zealous friend of Knox, did not long survive to fulfil this charge. He died 22d of April 1574, and his wife in the month of June following.—See Wodrow Miscellany, p. 281, and Davidson's "Memorial of two wor tians," etc., first printed in included in the "Poetical F Mr. John Davidson, Regent i ard's College," etc. Edinb. 1 8vo.

whome he said, "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" A litill eftir he sayes, "Now, for the last, I commend my saule, spreit, and bodie (pointing upoun his thrie fingeris), unto thy handis, O Lord!" Thaireftir, about fyve houris, he sayis to his Wyfe, "Goe reid whair I cast my first ancre!"[1] And so shee read the 17 of Johnes Evangle; quhilk being endit, was red some of Calvinis sermondis upon the Ephesianis. We, thinking that he was a sleip, demandit gif he heard? Answerit, "I heir, and understandis far better, I praise God!"

A nycht befoir, Doctour Prestoun, about ix houris at evin, demandit how he did? Said, "I have bene tempted be Sathan, and whien he saw that he could not prevaile, he tempted me to have trusted in my self, or to have rejosed or boasted of my self; but I repulsed him with this sentence, *Quid habes, quod non accepisti?*"

Eftir all, about sevin houris at evin, we left reiding, thinking he had been a sleip, so he lay still quhill after ten houris, except that sumtymes he wald bid weit his mouth with a litill waike aill: And half ane houre eftir ten, or thairby, we went to our ordinar prayeris (whilk was the longer or we went to thame, becaus we thocht he had bene sleipand); quhilk being endit, Doctor Prestoun sayis to him, "Sir, hard ye the prayeris?" Answerit, "I wald to God that ye and all men hard thame as I have hard thaim; and I praise God of that heavenlie sound!" Eftir the said doctor was rissin up, Robert Campbell sittis downe befoir him on a stule; and suddanlie thaireftir he sayis, "Now it is cum!" for he had gevin ane long siche and sobe. Then Richard sitting downe befoir him, said, "Now, Sir, the tyme that ye have long callit to God for, to wit, ane end of your battell, is cum! And seing all naturall power now failes, remember upon these comfortable promises, which often tymes ye have schawin to us of our Salviore Jesus Christ! And that we may understand and know that ye heir us, make us some

[1] "Ancre," anchor.

signe." And so he lifted up his one hand, and incon thaireftir randerit the spreit, and sleipit away withou paine, the day afoir said, about ellevin houris at evin; q day my Lord Mortone was elected Regent, as said is.

On this maner departit this man of God, the lycht of land, the comfort of the Kirke within the same, the mirr Godliness, and patrone and exemple to all trew Ministe puritie of lyfe, soundnes in doctrine, and in bauldness i proving of wickitnes; and one that caired not the fav men (how great soever thei wer), to reprove thair abuse synis!

In him was sic a mychtie spreit of judgment and wis that the truble never come to the Kirke, sen his enteri publict preiching, but he foirsaw the end thairof; so th had ever reddie a trew counsall, and a faythfull, to teich that wald be taught, to take the best pairt and leife the w so that he that followed his counsall, in the end, had ever sioune never to repent him: And contrarie, sic as have re the same, have cassin thaim selves in most schamefull w nes, and have come in a part, and daylie mair and ma lyke to cum and fall to a most miserable ruyne, both of and body, quhilk undoubtedly sall come upoun thame, g pentence prevene not Godis judgmentis; as may be weill ve this day in the Hammiltonis, the Laird of Grange, and Wil Maitland; whois end behald when it comis!

Bot heir sum may object, as mony have said, that my of Murray, of guid memorie, had not deid sic a death g had not followed his counsall! Whairto it is ansuerit, guid counsall is not the worse, albeit wickit men pers thame that follow it; for so have all the godly bene perse from the begyning, for following the treuth and the guid cou of God and his servantis. And as to the said Regentis slau gif his counsall had bene followed when the Maister of Gra

come and drew him to Dumbartane, he plainlie said to the Regent then, that it was only done for a trane, be that meanes to cutt him off, as it come to pas. Also, when he was in Stirling, being returned from Dumbartane, he sent me[1] to my Ladie the Regentis wife, tuo sundrie tymes, and desyred her to signifie my Lord her husband, that he sould nocht come be Linlithgow. So that gif his counsall had bene followed, he had not died at that tyme. And my Ladie, the last tyme, sent Mr. Johne Woode, to desyre him to avoyde Lynlithgow. Bot God thocht us unworthie of sic a rewlar above us, and also he wald thairby have the wickitnes of utheris knawin, whilk then was hid; and thairfoir did God then tak him fra us! But let the Hammiltounes, the Laird of Grange, with the rest of that factione, lay thair compt, and recken thair advantage and wining since!

What dexteritie in teiching, bauldnes in reproving, and hatred of wickitnes was in him, my ignorant dulness is not able to declair; whilk gif I sould preis to set out, were as who wald licht a candle to lat men sie the Sonne, seing all his vertewis ar better knowin, and nocht hid to the world, a thowsand fold better than I am able to expres.

Upoun the Weddinsday efter, he was buried, being convoyed with the Regent and the Lordis that were in the toun for the tyme, with monie a sorrowfull hairt!

CX.—The Account of Knox's last Illness and Death, published by Mr. Thomas Smeton, in 1579.

[To the preceding account of the close of Knox's life, the similar narrative by a learned contemporary, translated from the Latin, may be added. This translation appeared in "The Christian Magazine, or Evangelical Repository," vol. vi. p. 353-

[1] The transcriber of the MS. inserts the words—"meaning, Mr. Knox sent Richard his servant."

362. Edinb., September, 1802, 8vo.[1] I have reason to believe it was contributed to that periodical by the subsequently distinguished biographer of Knox.

MR. THOMAS SMETON was born at Gask, near Perth, in the year 1536. After completing his academical studies in St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews (his name occurring as Incorporated in 1553, and a Determinant in 1556), he was appointed one of the Regents in that College. Still adhering to the Roman Catholic faith at the period of the Reformation, he went abroad, and we find him at Paris and Rome, where he attached himself to the Society of Jesuits. But at length, having abjured the Popish doctrines, he narrowly escaped the massacre at Paris in 1572; and being permitted to return in the company of Secretary Walsingham to England, he obtained employment as a schoolmaster at Colchester. Alexander Hay, Clerk of Privy Council, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, dated from Edinburgh, 19th October 1576, says, "For Mr. Thomas Smetoun, it wes your Honour's letters that maid him and me to be first acquainted. And, according to your opinioun of him, I tak him to be a verie honest man, and well learned, and wes sorey at his heir being that he found so slender intertainment and welcuming. Yet his vertew can not but acquire unto him favour and lyvehood. And quhen he sall cum agane in this cuntrie he sall not want my pure gudewill quhair I can ony wyss wishe him well or stande him in stead."[2]

In the following year (1577) Smeton became minister of Paisley, and at the special request of Mr. Andrew Melville, he prepared his Answer to the work of Archibald Hamilton[3] entitled, "De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos Ecclesiæ nomen ridicule usurpantis, Dialogus." Parisiis, 1577, small 8vo. A facsimile of the title of Smeton's volume is given on the opposite page.

[1] A few slight corrections have been adopted, chiefly on the authority of Dr. M'Crie himself, in his Life of Knox.

[2] Orig. Letter in State Paper Office.

[3] See note, *supra*, p. 631.

AD VIRVLENTVM

ARCHIBALDI HAMILTONII APOSTATÆ DIALOGVM, DE CONfuſione Caluinianæ ſectæ apud Scotos, impiè conſcriptum orthodoxa reſponſio.

¶ THOMA SMETONIO SCOTO AVCTORE.

In qua celebris illa quæſtio de Eccleſia, de vniuerſalitate, ſucceſſione, & Romani Epiſcopi primatu breuiter, dilucidè, & accuratè tractatur.

¶ Adiecta eſt vera hiſtoria extremæ vitæ & obiust eximij viti Ioan. Knoxij Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ inſtauratoris fideliſſimi.

I R

¶ EDINBVRGI,
Apud Iohannem Roſſeum
Pro Henrico Charteris. Anno Do. 1579.
¶ CVM PRIVILEGIO REGALI.

In small 4to, title 3 leaves, and pp. 124. Sign. ¶, and A to Q ij in fours.

Hamilton replied to Smeton in another volume, "Calvinianæ Confusionis Demonstratio, contra maledicam ministrorum Scotiæ responsionem." Parisiis, 1581, small 8vo. Both of his volumes are dedicated to Mary Queen of Scots.

In 1580, when Melville was translated to St. Andrews, Smeton became his successor as Principal of the University of Glasgow. He was skilled in the learned languages, and greatly esteemed. His premature death occurred on the 13th of December 1583, in the forty-seventh year of his age, "after eight days sickness (says Calderwood) in a hot fever, to the great sorrow of all good men."[1]

The actual writer of the following narrative is not named. Calderwood quotes it as Smeton's, but at the time of Knox's death he had not returned to this country; and I have little hesitation in ascribing it to Mr. JAMES LAWSON, Knox's successor as minister of Edinburgh.[2] But Smeton in his own work, in refuting Hamilton's slanders, says, "This illustrious servant of God, JOHN KNOX, I shall clear from your feigned accusations and slanders, by the testimony of a venerable Assembly rather than by my own denial. 'This pious duty, this reward of a well-spent life, all its members most cheerfully discharge to their excellent instructor in Christ Jesus. This testimony of gratitude they all owe to him, who, they know, ceased not to deserve well of all till he ceased to breathe. Released from a body exhausted in Christian warfare, and translated to a blessed rest, where he has obtained the sweet reward of his labours, he now triumphs with Christ.' But beware, sycophant, of insulting him when dead; for he has left behind him as many defenders of his reputation as there are persons who were drawn by his faithful preaching from the gulf of ignorance to the knowledge of the gospel."]

[1] See M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. ii. pp. 219, 238; Life of Melville, second edition, vol. i. pp. 158-162, vol. ii. pp. 379-383; Calderwood's History, vol. iii. p. 405. etc.

[2] See *supra*, p. 632.

EXIMII VIRI IOHANNIS KNOXII, SCOTICANÆ ECCLESIÆ INSTAURATORIS FIDELISSIMI, VERA EXTREMÆ VITÆ ET OBITUS HISTORIA, A PIO QUODUM, ET DOCTO VIRO DESCRIPTA, QUI AD EXTREMUM USQUE SPIRITUM ÆGROTANTI ASSEDIT.

A TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE CONCLUDING PART OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THAT ILLUSTRIOUS MAN, JOHN KNOX, THE MOST FAITHFUL RESTORER OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, DRAWN UP BY A PIOUS AND LEARNED MAN, WHO SAT BY HIM DURING HIS SICKNESS UNTIL HIS LATEST BREATH.

WHEN Almighty God hath in mere mercy raised up men eminent for piety and genius, as so many lights to the world, it is an old artifice and malicious scheme of Satan to endeavour to spread false reports against them, to load them with feigned crimes, and cruelly and undeservedly to tear their characters while they are alive, and their memories after they are dead. Nor has he wanted instruments who have voluntarily rushed upon the wicked attempt. This has been verified by the experience of all ages, but more especially of late, as to the life and death of JOHN KNOX, concerning whom I may truly and ingenuously say, that I know not if God ever lodged greater piety, or a more noble genius, in a frail and weak body. Certain I am, that it will be difficult to find one in whom more of the gifts of the Holy Spirit shone, to the solid comfort and joy of the Church of Scotland. No one spared himself less in undergoing fatigues of body and mind; no one was more intent on discharging the duties of the province assigned to him. Yet, during his life, no one was more persecuted with the hatred of wicked men, or wounded with the calumnies of evil-speakers,

although (such was his magnanimity) this only served to make him more bold in his opposition to their ways. Nor did it satisfy these instruments of the devil to persecute him when alive, but they must also treat him with indignity after he is dead. This certain scurrilous declaimers have frequently done; and of late Archibald Hamilton, a wretched apostate, if indeed we can call him an apostate, who has never yet forsaken his atheism. How odiously, how falsely, and with what lawless effrontery, this person hath written concerning the death of so great and pious a man, in his foolish book, entitled, "Concerning the Confusion of the Calvinian Sect," is well known to those faithful persons who were present when that man of God, of blessed memory, commended his spirit into the hands of the Lord. I therefore have thought that it would not be an unprofitable task to write down, in as few words as possible, the true history of the concluding scene of his life and of his death, until a more copious narration of his life and actions shall be composed; that thus, in the meantime, the falsehood, hatred, and virulence of this miserable apostate may be made evident to all, and the deserved honour of this eminent servant of God may remain.

The man of God began to feel his weak body gradually broken by the numerous labours which he patiently and constantly underwent for promoting the glory of God, and propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ; but his incredible perspicacity of mind and wisdom, instead of being diminished or languishing, to the astonishment of all, every day increased. In addition to his labours, many other things so grievously afflicted the godly man, that he pined away with thoughtfulness, tears, and sighs. For, in the year of our Lord 1569[-70], on the 23d day of January, James Stewart, the good Regent, the ornament and light of our nation, inferior to none in the observance of religion and the love of justice, was, on account of our numerous and great sins, assassinated by the treachery of that wretch,

James Hamilton, who thus brought on the ruin of himself and almost the whole nation. This illustrious man being particularly dear to Knox, on account of his great piety and integrity of life, it is impossible to describe what grief he felt at his death. He foresaw what difficulties, commotions, and mischiefs would follow upon it to the dejected and much-afflicted commonwealth. These things rushing frequently into his mind, vehemently affected, disturbed, tormented him. Add to this, that at that time, besides the prevalence of irreligion, which he had always courageously set himself against, many who had at first deserved well of religion, appeared to be gradually making defection from it, to corrupt the royal authority and patronize the crimes of wicked men, and thus bring the commonwealth, and even religion itself, into the greatest danger; than which, what could be more painful to a pious breast? By the wicked perfidy of these persons, the good man, with many others eminent for piety, was obliged, much against his inclination, to leave Edinburgh, being in a manner driven from it by the authority of the Ecclesiastical Senate. All these things added new griefs and sufferings to those which he formerly endured. In the mean time he went to St. Andrews, where, at the beginning, he had founded a church, to the ministry of which Goodman, a man of singular piety and learning, had succeeded. But instantly Satan raised against him many enemies there, especially when he had opposed himself to those wretches who had conspired against the King's majesty. Among these the chief was the apostate Hamilton, who at that time made the highest pretences to religion and piety, but now has gone into all the filthy puddle of Popery. While he was engaged in this contest with the world, and the agents of the devil, on the 24th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1572, happened the horrid and hitherto unparallelled massacre of the Protestants in France. At this time, indeed, the Pope (that man of perdition, whom the Lord will destroy by the spirit of

his mouth, and utterly abolish by his illustrious coming), with his base shavelings,[1] had formed the plan of butchering in one day all the professors of the Christian and Reformed religion. The perpetration of this wicked deed in France he committed to his eldest son, the French king (whom, having already finished his infamous life, the Lord hath dragged before his tribunal and judged), who himself acting the part of a bloody butcher, under the perfidious mask of friendship and religion, made the streets of almost every city of that cruel nation to run with the blood of the righteous. No reverence was shown to the hoary head, no regard to the most learned men. Aged matrons, virgins, girls, and even infants just taken from the womb, and women, immediately upon having finished an unhappy labour, were partly trampled to death in the streets by the armed ruffians, and partly drowned in the Seine; a few being thrown into prison, were immediately after horribly murdered. O heavens! do ye not weep? O earth! dost thou not tremble? But blessed be God, who made this blood of martyrs the seed of the gospel. This massacre, added to the former anxieties, and the painful recollection of them, sunk deeply into the breast of every good man, and in an especial manner grieved and agitated Knox.

About this time, as the fury of the Civil War had subsided and given way to the introduction of peace in Scotland, and those who had been banished from Edinburgh were returning, Knox received letters from the Council, inviting him to return to the city. Upon this he left St. Andrews with the grief and tears of the godly, but to the great joy of the wicked, to whom he had been a continual terror while he had remained there in that turbulent time; and being accompanied by many pious brethren, he returned to Edinburgh, where he was earnestly expected and joyfully received by his congregation. Without

[1] Romish priests were so called by Protestants on account of their shaven heads.

delay he immediately began the discharge of his ministerial office, and preached to the people in the church two sermons full of comfort; but his voice, now become more feeble, was not sufficient to reach so numerous an auditory. As soon as he perceived this, he earnestly requested of the Ecclesiastical Senate that they would assign to him another place of worship more commodious and suited to his strength. A less place was therefore assigned to him, which did not admit such a crowd, where he delivered to the people some homilies upon the passion of Jesus Christ our Lord. He began with the 26th chapter of Matthew. Often did he express an ardent desire to finish his life in this doctrine. That godly man, and excellent preacher of the word, Craig,[1] being at this time employed elsewhere, and Knox alone being insufficient for such a congregation, especially in the present debilitated state of his body, permission was given to the people of Edinburgh by the General Assembly, which was held at Perth, to chuse any minister of the Word whom they thought most fit, wherever they could find him, and it was ordered that he whom Knox, the Superintendent of Lothian, and the Church of Edinburgh, should judge most fit, should be called to this station. It was unanimously agreed that JAMES LAWSON should be called from the College of Aberdeen to join his labours for the edification of that church, who, upon letters from the Superintendent and the Magistrates of the city, came from the north to Edinburgh, that he might at least see his friend Knox. Along with these Knox sent a letter, breathing the truest piety, and anticipating his happy departure, to which these were subjoined in a postscript, " Make haste, my Brother, otherwise you will come too late;" signifying, that unless he hastened his journey he would find *him* dead, whom he wished so much to see alive.[2]

When James Lawson arrived at Edinburgh, he preached

[1] Mr. John Craig, formerly Knox's colleague. See *supra*, p. 622, note 3.

[2] See this Letter, *supra*, p. 632.

different times to the people publicly assembled. On the 9th of November 1572, he was chosen and admitted by the ministry of Knox, the authority of the Ecclesiastical Senate, and the public suffrages of the Church; on which occasion, with many and solemn words, he testified from the pulpit his fidelity in preaching the eternal word of God, he magnified the mercy of God in substituting Lawson in his place, and fervently prayed for an increase of the grace of God, and of the Holy Spirit unto him; which prayers Almighty God hath not suffered to be in vain. Having finished these things, after he had pronounced the blessing upon the people, with a mind more cheerful than usual, but with a weak body, and leaning upon his staff, he departed, accompanied by almost the whole assembly to his house, from which he did not again come forth in life. On the 10th he was seized with a violent cough, so that, through the obstruction caused by a continual defluxion, he began to breathe with great difficulty. Upon seeing this, many who ardently desired to enjoy his agreeable company (if it should please the Lord to spare him longer), advised to call for the assistance of physicians, particularly of Dr. Preston. He readily complied, saying, that he was unwilling either to despise or neglect ordinary means, although he knew that the Lord would soon put an end to his warfare. The next day he caused the wages of all his servants to be paid, and exhorted them, in a very solemn manner, to walk in the fear of the Lord, and to lead a life becoming Christians educated in such a family. The same day the increase of his disease forced him to leave off his ordinary practice of reading; for it was his practice to read himself, every day, some chapters both of the Old and New Testaments, but especially the Psalms, and the gospel history. In the mean time he gave directions to his wife, Margaret Stewart, a pious woman, who was extremely attentive to him, and Richard Ballentine,[1] a servant who was dear to

[1] The name Bannatyne, Bellenden, and Ballantyne, was used indiscriminately.

him on account of his religion and piety, to read to him every day, with a distinct voice, the 17th chapter of John, one or other of the chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the 53d chapter of Isaiah, which they punctually and diligently attended unto. Moreover, he himself did choose from time to time such Psalms as he wished, in meditating upon which he received great refreshment, both in his life and at his death. On the 14th he rose from bed at seven o'clock, and being asked why he did not lie still, when he was so sick, he answered, that he had been employed all that night in meditating upon the resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord, and was now ready to ascend the pulpit, to communicate that consolation to others which he had enjoyed in his own mind, while yet he could scarcely be supported by the assistance of two men upon whom he leaned. Thus he ardently desired to be found in the work of the Lord even to his last breath. Some days having elapsed, upon the 22d of that month he sent for the ministers, elders, and deacons of the Church, that he might converse with them about spiritual and heavenly things; that being assembled together he might bid them farewell, and pray for their felicity in the Lord. When they met he received them in the following words: "The day approaches," said he, "is now before the door, for which I have frequently and fervently thirsted, when having finished my great labours, and almost infinite sorrows, I shall depart and be with Christ. And now my God is my witness, whom I have served in the Spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the gospel of the Son of God, and have had it for my only object, to instruct those that were ignorant of divine things, to confirm the faithful, to raise up and strengthen by the promises of grace the minds of those who were weak, timid, and agitated by a sense of their sins, and to fight against the proud and such as rebelled against God, by the awful threats of Divine judgements. I know that many have complained

much and loudly, and do still complain, of my too great severity; but God knows that my mind was always free from hatred to the persons of those against whom I denounced the heavy judgements of God. In the mean time, I cannot deny but that I felt the greatest abhorrence at the sins in which they indulged; still, however, keeping this as the one thing in view, that if it were possible I might gain them to the Lord. But a certain reverential fear of my God, who called me, and was pleased of his grace to make me a steward of divine mysteries, to whom I knew I must render an account, when I shall appear before his tribunal, of the manner in which I have discharged the embassy which he hath committed unto me,—had such a powerful effect as to make me utter so intrepidly whatever the Lord put into my mouth, without any respect of persons. Therefore I profess before God and his holy angels, that I never made gain of the sacred word of God, that I never studied to please men, never indulged my own private passions or those of others, but faithfully distributed the talent intrusted to my care for the edification of the Church over which I did watch. Whatever obloquy wicked men may throw upon me respecting this matter, I rejoice in the testimony of a good conscience. In the mean time do you, my dear brethren, persevere in the eternal truth of the gospel of the Son of God, give diligent attention to the flock over which the Lord hath set you, and which he hath redeemed by the blood of his only-begotten Son. And thou, Lawson, fight the good fight, and perform the work of the Lord joyfully and resolutely. The Lord from on high bless you, and the whole Church of Edinburgh, against whom, as long as they persevere in the word of truth, which they have heard of me (God having been pleased to make me a Minister of it), the gates of hell shall not prevail. Beware of those, of whom you know there are many here, who not only deny the King's authority, but also have made defection from the truth which they once acknowledged

and professed, against whom I denounce, that unless they are brought to repentance, and return to that way from which they have wandered, they shall be miserable both in soul and body. But as I breathe with difficulty, I must here have done." Upon this, we who were present, being covered both with tears and with joy, when we thought of the warfare which he had so courageously borne, and the joy to which he was hastening, with common consent poured out prayers to the Lord; which being finished, James Lawson and David Lindsay conversed with him alone, the rest having gone away. "Among other things, there is one," said he, "which yet grievously afflicts me. You have formerly been witnesses of the courage and constancy of Grange in the cause of the Lord, but now, alas! into what a gulph has he precipitated himself? I entreat you not to refuse the request which I now make to you: Go, and tell him in my name, that unless he is yet brought to repentance he shall die miserably; for neither the craggy rock in which he miserably trusts, nor the carnal prudence of that man whom he looks upon as a demi-god, nor the assistance of foreigners, as he falsely flatters himself, shall deliver them; but he shall be disgracefully dragged from his nest to punishment, and hung on a gallows in the face of the sun, unless he speedily amend his life, and flee to the mercy of God. The man's soul is dear to me, and I would not have it perish, if I could save it." They promised their assistance to him in this affair; and having gone up to the Castle of Edinburgh, they discoursed with Grange, but were not able to move him from his purpose by any arguments; which obstinacy the Lord afterwards severely punished (as Knox had more than once foretold), when he was publicly brought to the gallows.

In the meantime, some days passed; many of the chief Nobility in the land visited him, among whom were the Earl of Morton (who a short time after was declared Regent), Boyd also, and others. There likewise came to him several pious

women, who were of high descent and education; many godly men also flocked in crowds to his door; all of whom he solidly exhorted to piety; nor did he suffer any one to depart without consolations which he suggested to them under the extraordinary impulse of the Spirit. On the 20th November he ordered the wooden chest to be made in which his body was to be deposited. Through the whole period of his distress these words were frequently in his mouth, "Come, Lord Jesus, sweet Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit: look propitiously, O Lord, upon thy Church which thou hast redeemed: restore peace to this afflicted commonwealth: raise up faithful pastors who shall take care of thy Church: grant, O Lord, that we may be excited by the examples of thine anger, and by a sense of thy mercy, to detest sin, and to serve thee from the heart." In the midst of his meditations he would often break out in such addresses as this to those who stood by: "O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be dreadful to you. Nay, death shall be blessed to those to whom the death of the only begotten Son of God is efficacious." About the 23d, death approaching nearer, he breathed with greater difficulty.

When Robert Campbell, a pious man, and very dear to Knox, anxiously inquired whether he felt great pain, he answered he did not consider nor feel that to be pain which should put an end to so many distresses, and be the beginning of eternal joy. By and by, after he had carefully caused the places of Scripture, formerly mentioned, to be read, he himself repeated the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and added certain meditations of his own concerning each of the petitions and articles of faith, to the great comfort of those who were present. When he had ended these things, lifting up his hands to heaven, "Lord," said he, "into thy hands I commend my spirit. Thou knowest, O Lord, my pains; I do not murmur to thee; nay, O Lord, if it seems good to thee, I am not reluctant to bear for many years those troubles and griefs, which in thy just judgment thou hast

laid upon me. Do thou only continue to shine upon my mind through Jesus Christ." All that night he was somewhat worse than usual. In the meantime he ordered the 15th chapter of I. Corinthians to be read over and over. When this was ended, he repeatedly said to himself, "O what sweet and salutary consolation has the Lord afforded me from that chapter!" The following day, about twelve o'clock, he sat up in bed, but not long, for the weakness of his body did not suffer him; at three o'clock afternoon one of his eyes failed, nor did his tongue perform its office so expeditiously as formerly. At six o'clock, however, he said, "Read the passages which I selected, especially the 17th chapter of John, since there I have cast anchor." When this was done, he rested until ten o'clock, but during almost the whole of that time he uttered frequent groans, moanings, and sighs, so that those who stood by could easily understand that he was contending with a grievous temptation. There were present John Johnston, a man eminently good and pious, Robert Campbell, a most affectionate Christian, his pious wife, and others, who all expected every instant the departure of his soul from the body. But he having at length, as it were, awakened, they asked him how he was, and what was the cause of such sighs? He answered, "I have indeed formerly sustained many contests in this frail life, and many assaults from Satan, but at this time that roaring lion hath most furiously attacked me, and put forth all his strength, that he might devour and make an end of me at once. Often before hath he placed my sins before my eyes, often tempted me to despair, often has he endeavoured to entangle me with the allurements of the world; but these weapons being broken by the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, he could accomplish nothing. But now he has attacked me in another way; for the cunning serpent has endeavoured to persuade me that I have merited Heaven itself and a blessed immortality by the faithful discharge of the ministerial office committed to

me. But blessed be God, who suggested to me those passages of Scripture by which I was able to grapple with him and extinguish this fiery dart; amongst which were these, 'What hast thou that thou hast not received?' and, 'By the grace of God I am what I am;' and, 'Not I, but the grace of God in me;' and thus being vanquished, he went away; wherefore I give thanks to my God by Jesus Christ, who was pleased to grant me the victory. And I am firmly persuaded that he shall not attack me farther, but that in a short time, without any great bodily pain, and without any distress of mind, I shall exchange this mortal and miserable life for an immortal and blessed life, through Jesus Christ." In the meantime evening prayers were read; being asked if he heard them, he answered, "I wish that you may have heard them with the same ears, and understood them with the same mind with which I heard and understood. Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." As there now appeared certain indications of immediate death, those who stood by requested him that he would give some certain sign that he closed his life in that eternal truth of God which he had taught, and in the steady assurance of a blessed immortality through Jesus Christ, which he had so often thirsted for; wherefore acquiring, as it were, new strength when he was just dying, he raised his hands towards heaven, and giving two sighs, his soul departed from the mortal body (at 11 o'clock of the night of the 24th of November) without any motion of the feet, or of any other part of his body, so that he rather seemed to fall asleep than die. Surely, whatever opprobrious things profane persons may say, in him God hath set us an example both of living and dying well.

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

VOLUME FIRST.

Page xiii.—CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES, &c.—There are some inaccuracies in these Notes which are elsewhere corrected. For instance, in line 1, " at the village of Gifford," should rather have been, " Knox was born at Giffordgate, in the immediate vicinity of Haddington." See Preface in the present volume. Line 7, for " great-grandfather," read " his mother's father."

Page xiv. line 11.—The name Rannalton Law, and the date, are incorrect. See Preface in this volume.

Page xxii.—By some oversight the death of the Earl of Lennox is placed under the year 1570 instead of 1571. Lines 2 and 3 should therefore be deleted, and be placed after line 8, to read—
1571. The Earl of Lennox was assassinated on the 30th of September, and, on the following day, John Earl of Mar was chosen his successor as Regent of Scotland.

Page xxxviii.—To this enumeration of the Manuscript copies of the Four Books of Knox's History of the Reformation, there has to be added one in folio, purchased some years ago for the British Museum. It is marked: Addit. MSS., No. 5796 XII.D., and contains pp. 664. It has the marginal notes, and seems to correspond with the MS. of 1566, but the transcript is not older than about 1700.

Page 12.—In reference to the death of ROBERT BLACKADER, Archbishop of Glasgow, I may refer to a short communication which I read to the Society of Antiquaries, in 1856 (Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 222). Having obtained some extracts from the contemporary Diary of the Venetian Maria Sanuto, by Rawdon Brown, Esq., the allusion to Blackader as " the rich Scottish Bishop" who arrived at Venice in May 1508, on his way to Jerusalem, is too obvious to be mistaken. But the same Diary, which describes his honourable reception by the Doge, and the Latin oration he made in praise of the Seignory, also records, that the

vessel from Jaffa, in Palestine, having returned to Venice in November 1508, out of thirty-six pilgrims from the Holy Land, on board of the said vessel, this "rich Bishop" was one of twenty-seven who died during the voyage.

Pages 14-36, and 500-516.—MR. PATRICK HAMILTON, THE MARTYR. Since this volume was printed, there has appeared an interesting work by Professor Lorimer of London, under the title of "Precursors of Knox; or, Memoirs of Patrick Hamilton, the first Preacher and Martyr of the Scottish Reformation." Edinburgh, 1857. Small 8vo. The author has brought together all the existing facts, including many that "were perfectly new to history." It is the less necessary, therefore, to supply any additional notes. At the time, I could not have access to a perfect copy of the Second Edition of Foxe's Martyrs, which was printed in the year 1570, but I am now able to state that the Third Edition, in 1576, from which I quoted, is nearly a verbatim reprint of the second; and that the extracts at pages 507-516 are precisely the same in both editions.

The various important facts relating to Hamilton which Professor Lorimer has brought to light, are partly derived from the writings of Alexander Alesius, more specially from his Exposition of the 37th Psalm, quoted by Jacobus Thomasius, in 1683, and other old writers, but overlooked, from its rarity, in our own days. It so happened I had made a few extracts from a copy of that work in the Imperial Library, Vienna, much about the same time that my reverend friend, Dr. Lorimer, was examining another copy in one of the German University Libraries, while engaged in collecting materials for his intended work on the Life and Writings of Alesius, Professor in the University of Leipzig, who was personally acquainted with Patrick Hamilton, and was present at St. Andrews during his trial and martyrdom in 1528. The work referred to has this title:—"Primus Liber Psalmorum juxta Hebræorum et divi Hieronymi Supputationem, Expositus ab ALEXANDRO ALESIO, D. in celebri Academia Lipsensi." Lipsiæ, 1554; folio. See the extracts in Professor Lorimer's "Precursors of Knox," p. 236.

It now appears that Hamilton had taken his degree of Master of Arts at Paris in 1520, and that he had likewise pursued his studies at Louvain and Marpurg before he was Incorporated at St. Andrews. Alesius praises his learning and skill in musical composition, and states that, not long before his condemnation, he had taken to wife a lady of high rank; and this serves to remove the odium which I had thrown on his memory in mentioning, at page 525, his supposed illegitimate daughter. Taking him all in all, PATRICK HAMILTON, titular Abbot of Ferne, was one of those noble characters of whom Scotland has so much reason to be proud.

I have also to add a note regarding two works, from which quotations are made in reference to Patrick Hamilton. The original edition of Francis Lambert's work (see pp. 502-3) has the following title :— "EXEGESEOS FRANCISCI LAMBERTI Auenionensis, in sanctam Diui Ioannis Apocalypsim, Libri VII. In Academia Marpurgensi prælecti." Small 8vo, sign. A to Z, and *a* to *t* in eights. On the reverse of fol. 325 is this imprint :—"Apud inclytvm Hessiæ Marpurgum, Anno M.D.XXVIII. quarto idus Septembres." The dedication to Philip Landgrave of Hesse is quite the same as in the later edition of 1539, and the passage relating to Hamilton (vol. i. p. 503) has no date.

In the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 345, I gave several Extracts, with a facsimile of the title-page, of JOHN GAW'S "Richt Way to the Kingdom of Hevin," printed at Malmoe, in Sweden, in 1533, from the only copy known to exist. Later inquiries in Denmark and Sweden were unsuccessful in obtaining any notices of the author, but in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, I had an opportunity to examine a rare volume, which shows that the chief portion of Gaw's work was translated from the Danish. Having afterwards sent to that Library a copy of the Bannatyne Miscellany, I requested the Librarian, my old and esteemed friend the late Mr. Bölling, to compare the Extracts with the original, and he favoured me with the following memorandum :—

"The title of CHRISTIAN PEDERSEN'S Book is :—Den rette veij | till Hiemmerigis Rige | Han læris her i de thi Gudsz bud | ord, och i Credo, och Pater no- | ster I huilke hvsert christet mēni | ske finder alt det sō staar i scriff- | ten, Och alle de ting som hannē | er nötte-lige och tilbörlige ath | vide til sin sielis sælighed | Læss bogen till ende | da skalt dw det | saa finde | *** M.D.XXXI. ***

"The above title stands in a frame, that has the arms of Denmark, viz., Three lions at the top, and three crowns and a lion at the bottom. The book has 124 leaves, with signatures A to Q iiij. 12mo. Our copy wants leaf, p. viij. *The Extracts in the Bannatyne Miscellany are a literal Translation of the Danish text.*"

The address of John Gaw to the Reader, on the use of these orisons or prayers, in which he trusted so much in "his auld blindnes," and the concluding "Epistil to the Nobil Lordis and Barons of Scotland," do not of course form any part of Pedersen's original work.

The author, Christian Pedersen, who was born at Svendborg about the year 1480, was a canon at Lund, and having studied at Paris, he took his Master's Degree in 1511. After renouncing the Papistical religion, he endeavoured to suppress his earlier writings in defence of that doctrine, deploring his having published in them miracles and fables which he describes as merely the inventions and dreams of men. In

1529 he published a revised translation of the New Testament in Danish. It was printed at Antwerp, as the art of printing was not introduced at Malmoe till the year when Gaw's volume was printed.[1]

Pedersen's own work is printed in the same peculiar type as Gaw's, and has this imprint: "Denne bog er prentet in Andorp och rettet aff Christien Pedersen son vaar Canick i Lund: Aar effter Gudsz byrd. M.D.XXXJ." Small 8vo.

At page 528, line 4.—After the words "in passing through that town" (Malmoe), supply an omission, to read, "and also at Lund, the seat of a University," &c.

Pages 53, 58, 60.—The following notice, which occurs in the Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 18, furnishes probably the correct dates when Norman Gourlay and David Stratoun suffered martyrdom:—"Upon the xxvj day of August, thair was callit befoir the Bischope of Ross, be ane commissioun of the Bishope of Sanctandrois, for the opynions of Mertene Luter, thir personis followand, Schir William Kirk, chaiplane, Adam Deir, Johnne Stewart in Leith, ——— Hamiltoun, sister sone to the Scherreffe of Linlithgow, with Mr. William Johnnestoun, with sindrie utheris, baith men and wemen, in Edinburgh, in presence of the Kingis grace and chargeris, viz., bischopes, priestis, blak freris and gray, in solempt processioun, and brynt thair faggatis with thair opynionis.

"Upon the xxvj day of August, Mr. Normond Gourlay wes first abjurit, syne callit, and thairefter degradit for heresie; and ane David Strathque [Stratoun] wald not objure, bot was constant, who was brynt with the said Normand."

Page 63, line 5.—Bishop of Dunblane.—This was the elder William Chisholm, Bishop of that See in 1527. He died in 1564, having alienated much of the patrimony of the Church in favour of his natural children and other relatives. George Crichton, mentioned in the footnote, was the Bishop of Dunkeld. Dr. M'Crie styles Chisholm Bishop of Brechin, in place of John Hepburn.

Page 64, note 3.—Sir Andrew Oliphant, chaplain to the Bishop of St. Andrews, was taken prisoner when the French troops were defeated by the Lords of the Congregation in February 1559-60.—(Sadler's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 240).

Page 67, note 1.—The date of Sir James Hamilton's beheading at the Cross of Edinburgh, is ascertained by the following notice in the

[1] Worm's Lexicon over Lærde Mœnd, vol. ii. p. 179; Nyerup og Kraft's Literatur Lexicon, vol. ii. p. 455; Bibliotheca Sussexiana, vol. ii. p. 400.

Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 23 :—" Upon the xvj day of August, the year of God 1540 yeris, Schir James Hamiltoun of Fynnart, knycht, was convictit be ane assyise, and heidit at the skaffald at the Trone of Edinburgh, the Kingis grace being in Seytoun."

Page 71, footnote 2.—The year 1548 is a typographical error for 1558. See subsequent note in vol. i. p. 293, respecting the Queen's uncle, Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, as the proposed successor to Lord James Stewart as Commendator of the Abbacies of Melrose and Kelso.

Page 72, footnote 4, *to read*, " William fourth Earl of Glencairn, &c., and Sir Ralph Sadler, in a letter to Henry VIII., says of the old Earl, ' Furthermore, he hath written to your Majesty,' " &c.

Page 106, footnote 4.—The year 1515 is a typographical mistake for 1525, in the brief notice of Mr. David Borthwick, vol. ii. p. 44, note 5. In May 1538, " Mr. Dawe (David) Borthwick" was Captain of Tantallon, when he borrowed from the town and baillies of Haddington certain " geir," required for the King's service in the work of Tantallon.—(See Mr. T. Thomson's Extracts from the Haddington Records, in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. ii. p. 403.)

Pages 125-171, 534-537.—Mr. George Wishart, the Martyr. In the Appendix, p. 534, I expressed some doubt respecting George Wishart having been nearly connected with the family of Pittarrow, as it seemed strange that no allusion to this should be found in the contemporary notices of Sir John Wishart, the Comptroller, who is alleged to have been his Brother: in all probability he was his Nephew. I observe, however, distinct assertion of the fact by Dr. John Gordon (who became Dean of Salisbury), in his rare tract entitled, " Assertiones Theologicæ pro Vera Veræ Ecclesiæ nota quæ est solius Dei Adoratio," &c., Rupellæ, 1603, 8vo, which is dedicated " Nobili et generoso juveni Joanni Sophocardio Pittarroensi," and concludes with the following paragraph :—

" Accipe ergo, mi Sophocardi, has Assertiones quibus conficiendis ausam præbuisti, ut non tibi solum, sed et Christianis omnibus qui servari expetunt prosint : *Et memoriam* Georgii Sophocardii patrui tui magni *in scrinio pectoris reconde*, qui pro veritate Christiana fortiter strenueque dimicans impia pseudo-Episcoporum condemnatione, qui tunc rerum potiebantur apud Scotos, *flammis olim traditus, nunc fruitur splendore præsentiæ Christi*, pro cujus gloria propaganda nec facultatibus nec vitæ pepercit."

I shall add, therefore, what appears to be the pedigree of the Wisharts of Pittarrow during the sixteenth century :—

I. Dom. Johannes Wyschart miles, Dominus de Pettarrow, 6th July 1442.

II. Jacobus Wischeart de Pettarro, 3d January 1471-2.

III. Johannes Wischeart de Pyttaro, served heir of his father James, 29th July 1491. Charters to John Wischeart of Pettarro, and Jonet Lyndsay, his spouse, in July 1507 and October 1510.

Contract betwixt Mr. James Wyscheart and John Wyscheart, his brother, relating to certain portions of the lands of Redhall, Balfeifth, &c., which they had conquest infeftment from John Wyscheart de Pettarrow, their father, 19th March 1508-9.

IV. Mr. James Wischeart of Pettarrow, Clerk of Justiciary and King's Advocate. Charters to him and Elizabeth Learmonth, his spouse, 30th April 1512. He died towards the end of 1524.

John Wischeart, as above, his brother, 19th March 1509.

William Wischeart, brother of umquhile Mr. James Wischeart, 1526.—James Strathaquhyn of Monboddo, and Wylyam Wischeart, brudyr-german to umquhile Master James Wyscheart of Pattarrow, appointed wards of certain landis, aye and till the perfyt age of the ayr or ayres of the sayd Master James, 28th October 1525.

Mr. George Wischeart, the Martyr, was apparently the younger brother of the Justice-Clerk.

A Letter under the Privy Seal to Elizabeth Lermonth, relict of umquhile Maister James Wischeart of Petterow, Clerk of Justiciarie and Advocate to the Kingis Grace, "to her and her small faderless bairns," 22d November 1524. (Reg. Secr. Sig., vol. vij. f. 171.)

V. John Wishart of Pettarrow, eldest son and heir of the King's Advocate (No. IV.), obtained the honour of knighthood in February 1561-2, and was appointed Comptroller. Janet Falconer, Lady Pitarrow, died 27th January 1580; and Sir John, who died without issue, 28th September 1585, by his will nominates his brother's son as his heir and successor. This heir-apparent was the son of Mr. James Wischart, who had predeceased his brother the Comptroller.

In his will Sir John also mentions two brothers, George and William Wischearts, then alive. Georgius Wischart, frater-germanus Joannis Wischart de Pettarrow, 14th June 1565. (Dundee Protocol Book, see vol. i. p. 536.)

VI. Sir John Wischart of Pittarrow married Jean, daughter of William Douglas of Glenbervie, 31st May 1576. He succeeded his uncle in 1585. He lived to a good old age, and a charter was granted to him and his spouse in 1603.

VII. His son, the third Sir John, to whom Dean Gordon's work is

dedicated, made an unfortunate marriage with the daughter of Forrester of Carden. His brother James, who married Margaret Riccarton, sold the lands of Pittarrow, and went to Ireland, where he was slain. A younger brother, Mr. William Wischart, was minister of Leith and parson of Restalrig, but he was deposed in 1639, and died in Cornwall, leaving an only son, John, who was slain at Edgehill.

During the sixteenth century there were other two families of the name distantly connected with the Wischarts of Pittarrow, but of whom a brief notice may be added, without attempting to point out the connexion.

Wishart of Carnbeg.

Mag. Jacobus Wischart, Clericus Regis, had a charter under the Great Seal of the lands of Carnbegs, 11th August 1511.

James Wischart of Carnbeg deceased, and

John Wischart, his son and heir, 24th March 1553.

Alexander Wischart of Carnbeg, and Marjory Falconar, his spouse, 20th October 1557.

James Wischart of Balfeyth, brother of Alexander Wischart of Carnbeg, died in April 1575.

Mr. Patrick Wischart, lawfull son to umquhill Alexander Wischart of Carnbeg, died 23d January 1593-4. Issabell Gray, his relict spouse.

Wishart of Logywishart.

John Wischart of Logy Wischart, charters to 1510. In a sasine dated 24th September 1526, John Wischart of Logy Wischart, reference is made to his non-entry to certain lands since the death of his father, Alexander Wischart.

Ane protectione to Johne Wischart of Logy Wischart, Christian Ogilvy, his spouse, Johne Wischart, George Wischart, Alexander Wischart, Katharine Wischart, and Christian Wischart, their sons and daughters, and William Wischart, brother to the said John Wischart. At Edinburgh, last July 1538. (Reg. Secr. Sig., vol. xii. fol. 6.)

George Wischart, ane of the Archearis of the Kingis gaird in France, died in Dundee in the month of July 1581. Mention is made in his confirmed Testament of Thomas Wischart, his brother's son, and of Christian Wischart, his own sister. Another brother, Alexander Wischart, in the Barnehill in the Mernis, died in December 1580, leaving three sons and three daughters by his spouse, Janet Cheape.

Ane honorabill man, Johne Wischeart of that ilk, quha deceissit in (*blank*) 1574. His Testament, &c., gevin up be his awin mouth at Logy-

wischeart: Marian Gardin, his relict spouse, and Thomas Wischart, his second son.

John Wischart of that ilk, died in October 1592. His children, George, and other three sons and two daughters.

Page 129.—The date, assigned to the time when the pestilence was raging in Dundee, is confirmed by an incidental notice in an old Protocol book, as follows :—" 22 *Dec^r^*. 1566.—The quhilk day Willyam Car grantit hym auchtand till the airis of umquhile Richard Barre, *quha decessit in the pest in anno fourty fyve yeris* the somene of xxvj^s^ viij^d^, for the maile of ane bwythe in the said umquhile Richard's land."

Page 130.—Sir John Wighton, " the desperate priest," hired to assassinate Wishart, was a chaplain in Dundee, and obtained from the Provost of the collegiate church of Foulis and chapter a presentation to the vicarage pensionary in the parish church of Ballumby, 6th November 1538. It appears from the household-book of Cardinal Beaton, that Wigton, Curate of Ballumby, had been incarcerated in the Castle of St. Andrews in 1543, during the Cardinal's absence.

Page 131.—Bishop Lesley says, " In this progress (of the Governor, in July 1552) Sir George Douglas of Pettendreich, knycht, brodir to the Erle of Angus, quha had bene a man of great wit and experience, decessit in the tyme of the asis (Justice Courts) in Glasgow ; quhome I do heir remember, for that he was so well knawin in his tyme in France, Scotland, and in Inglande, for his politeque and wechtie affares in the oft changes of the governement of Scotlande, quhairin his inventionis and moyens was not the leist."—(Historie, p. 244.)

Page 140, note 4.—For the words, " He died, probably in exile, in September 1556," read, " Patrick Earl of Bothwell, at the time of his death, was residing in Dumfriesshire as Lieutenant on the Borders." The Diurnal of Occurrents states, " In the moneth of October [1556], Patrick Erle of Bothuile, Lieutenant at Annand, for danting of the thevis, deceissit" (p. 67) ; and Chalmers says he died at Dumfries, aged 44.—(Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. iii. p. 5.)

The letter of Emery Tylney, in 1543, which is mentioned in the brief notice of George Wishart, vol. i. p. 535, gives such an interesting and graphic description of the Martyr's person and habits, that it may be quoted in this place. It does not occur in the earlier editions of Foxe's Book of Martyrs, having been communicated to the author apparently after the edition of 1576, and first occurs in vol. ii. pp. 1267-8 of the fourth (1583) and is repeated in subsequent editions of that im-

portant work. Regarding the writer of the letter, he is identified by Messrs. Cooper, in their "Athenæ Cantabrigienses" (vol. i. p. 559), as Emery or Edmund Tylney, one of the "poor scholars" of Corpus Christi College, who appears to have taken no degree. He published at London, in 1568, "A brief and pleasant Discourse of Duties in Mariage, called the Flower of Friendshippe," dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. It was republished in 1571, and again in 1577.

Foxe introduces the letter in the following terms, immediately after the first paragraph, which is quoted at page 149 :—

"But before I enter into his [George Wishart's] Articles, I thought it not impertinent somewhat to touch concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as of late came to my hands, certified in writing by a certaine scholler of his, sometime named Emery Tylney, whose words of testimoniall, as he wrote them to me, heere follow :—

[EMERY TYLNEY'S ACCOUNT OF MASTER GEORGE WISCHART.]

About the yeare of our Lord a thousand, five hundreth, fourtie and three, there was, in the Universitie of Cambridge, one Maister George Wischart, commonly called Maister George of Bennet's Colledge, who was a man of tall stature, polde headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best ; judged of melancholy complexion by his physiognomie ; blacke-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his countrey of Scotland ; courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learne, and was well travailed ; having on him for his habit or clothing never but a mantell frieze gowne to the shooes, a blacke Millian fustian doublet, and plaine black hosen, course new Canvasse for his Shirtes, and white falling bandes and Cuffes at his hands. All the which apparell he gave to the poore, some weekley, some monethly, some quarterlye, as hee liked, saving his French Cappe, which hee kept the whole yeare of my being with him.

Hee was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousnesse ; for his charity had never ende, night, noone, nor daye. He forbare one meale in three, one day in foure for the most part, except something to comfort nature. Hee lay hard upon a pouffe of straw, coarse new Canvasse Sheetes, which, when he changed, hee gave away. Hee had commonly by his bedside a tubbe of water, in the which (his people beeing in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) hee used to bathe himselfe, as I, being verie yong, being assured, often heard him, and, in one light night, discerned him. Hee loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. Hee taught with great modestie and gravitie, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slaine him ; but the Lord was his defence. And hee, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and hee

went his way. O! that the Lord had left him to mee, his poore boy, that he might have finished that hee had begunne; for in his religion hee was, as you see heere in the rest of his life, when hee went into Scotland with divers of the Nobilitie that came for a treatie to King Henrie the Eight. His learning no leese sufficient than his desire, alwayes prest and readie to do good in that he was able, both in the house privatly, and in the Schoole publikely, professing and reading divers authours.

If I should declare his love to me and all men, his charitie to the poore in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto al, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words then just cause to commend him.

All this I testify with my whole heart and trueth of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge al, knoweth that I speake the troth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.—Τέλος.

EMERY TYLNEY.

Dogmata ejusdem Georgii.
Fides sola sine Operibus justificat.
Opera ostendant et ostentant Fidem.
Romana ecclesia putative caput mundi.
Lex canonica caput Papæ.
Missæ ministerium, mysterium Iniquitatis.

"To the said Maister George, being in captivitie in the Castle of St. Andrewes, the Deane of the same towne, was sent by the commandment of the Cardinall," &c., foot of page 149.

Page 185.—A facsimile of the brass tablet at Ormiston, with the engraved inscription, composed by George Buchanan, on Alexander Cockburn, is given in the Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society, vol. iv. p. 225.

Page 187, and App. No. X., p. 537.—JOHN ROUGH.—In addition to the notice of this zealous preacher, a few words may be supplied. He obtained a pension of £20 from Henry VIII., and returned to England previously to the capitulation of the Castle of St. Andrews, in July 1547. "John Ruthe, Scottishman," was one of the persons authorized to preach in England during the reign of Edward VI. According to Calderwood, John Rough "came first to Carlill, and from thence to the Duke of Somerset, then Lord Protectour of England, and had appointed to him out of the King's treasure twentie pounds of yearlie stipend, and was sent as preacher to serve at Carlill, Berwicke, and Newcastell, from whence, after he had taken a countrywoman of his to wife, he was called, by the Archbishop of York that then was [Robert Holgate], unto a benefice nigh to the town of Hull, where he continued

till the death of King Edward the Sixth."—(History, vol. i. p. 251.) His name is included among the persons who fled to the Continent in 1553.—(Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 314.)

At the foot of pages 537 and 540, the year 1558, instead of 1557, is erroneously specified as the date of his martyrdom. In the foot-note, p. 187, the correct date is given.—See also "The Names of the Martyrs, vol. iv. p. 535.

Page 205.—Leon Strozzi, Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, and Prior of Capua, was Lieutenant-General of the French Galleys which came to Scotland in 1547. He quitted for a time the service of France in 1551, and retired to Malta; but three years later he was killed during the French invasion of the territory of Piombino.—See the account of the *Généraux des Galères*, in Anselme's Histoire Généalogique de France, tome vii. p. 931.

Page 205, line 14, to read, "Betuix ten houris and elleven, thare fell," etc. In the same page, line 24, Satterday, the last of Julij [1547].

Page 226.—HENRY BALNAVES.—His treatise on Justification by Faith was revised by Knox, but instead of Extracts (as proposed in the foot-note), the work is republished entire in the Appendix to Volume Third; where its discovery, after Knox's death, is fully explained. It was first published at Edinburgh, under the title, "A Confession of Faith," etc., in the year 1584.—See vol. iii. pp. 4, 418. Want of space prevents me inserting in this place some additional letters written by Balnaves, preserved in the State Paper Office.

Page 259.—The legitimation of Alexander Carpentyne, bastard son of Mr. John Carpentyne, Vicar of Lenthrehan, 20th April 1541, is recorded in the Privy Seal Register (vol. xv. fol. 65).

In the Register of Signatures, in the Comptroller's office, is an agreement betwixt John Wischart of Pittarro, Knycht comptroller, and Alexander Carpenter, maister brouster to his Grace, to the effect that, upon receiving "sic quantitie of beir (barley) as salbe sufficient to the yearly provision of aile to hir Majesties household; the said Alexander sal furnis 11 gallonis for every boll, counting 18 pek to the boll, the said Alexander having sic fee as he had in umquhill hir derrest Motheris tyme of gude memorie. ALEX^R. CARPENTER, with my hand."

Page 268, footnote 2, line 5, to read, "(in whose house Knox resided on his first return to Scotland in 1555), had," etc.; and in line 9, 1566 is a misprint for 1556. James Baron died in 1569 (vol. ii. p. 322).

Page 273.—THE COMMON BAND, December 1557.

The mutual engagement to support the cause of the Reformation by the Lords of the Congregation, in December 1557, is given by Knox in this part of his History. It is best known as "The Common or Godly Band;" and there is reason to conjecture that copies of it, like the more celebrated National Confession or Covenant in 1638, had been prepared to obtain the signatures of adherents in different parts of the country. Knox gives it as dated the 3d of December, Calderwood makes it the 23d, while in an original copy, discovered among the family papers of Erskine of Little Sauchy, the day of the month is left blank.

This original copy was exhibited by my worthy friend, the Rev. James Young, at the great meeting held at Edinburgh in August 1860, to commemorate the third Centenary of the Reformation in Scotland. At the same time Mr. Young gave an elaborate and interesting communication on the subject, of which copies were printed in a separate form, and the substance of it was incorporated in the volume edited by the Rev. Dr. Wylie, under the title: "Ter-Centenary of the Scottish Reformation," &c. Edinburgh, 1860. 12mo.

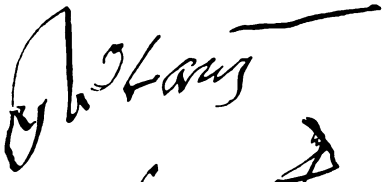
The following is a literal copy of the original, with a facsimile of the signatures:—

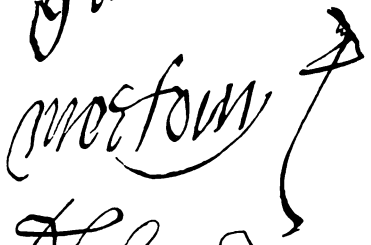
ANE GODLIE BAND FOR MANTENANCE OF THE EWANGELL, MAID BE THE ERLES OF ARGYLL AND VTHER NOBLE MEN. 10ber 1557.

WE, persaving how Sathan in his membris the Antechrystis of oure tyme, crewellie dois raige seiking to downebring and to destroye the Evangell of Christ and his Congregatioune: awght, according to oure bounden dewtye, to stryve in oure Maisteres Cawss, even vnto the deth: Being certane of the victorye in him: The quhilk our dewtie being weill consyderit: We do promiss before the Maiestie of God and his Congregatioune that we (be his grace) sall with all diligence continewallie applie oure haill power, substance, and oure very lyves, to mantene, sett forwarde, and establische the maist blessed Worde of God, and his Congregatioune. And sall lawboure at oure possibilitie, to haif faithfull Ministeres purelie and trewlie to minister Christes Evangell and Sacramentes to his Peopill: We sall mentene thame, nwryss thame, and defende thame, the haill Congregatioune of Christ, and everye member therof, at our haill poweris and waring of oure lyves aganis Sathan and all wicked power that dois intend tyrannye or troubill aganis the forsaid Congregatioune: Onto the quhilk holie Worde and Congregatioune we do joyne ws: and also dois forsaik and renunce the Congregatioune of Sathan, with all the superstitioune, abhominatioune, and idolatrie therof. And mareattour sall declare oure selwes manifestlie innemyes

tharto. Be this oure faithfull promiss before God, testefyit to his Congregatioune, be oure Subscriptiones at thir presentes. At Edinburgh, the (*blank*) day of December, the zere of God ane thowsande fyve hundreth fiftie sevin zeres : God callit to Wytnes.

1.

2. 

3. 

4.

5.

The persons who signed this Bond are well known. 1. Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyle, died about November 1558 (Knox, vol. i. p. 290). 2. Alexander fifth Earl of Glencairne, one of the leading Nobles in supporting the cause of the Reformation, is frequently mentioned in the

History. 3. James, fourth Earl of Morton, afterwards became Regent. 4. Archibald, Lord of Lorne, succeeded his father as Earl of Argyle in 1558. 5. There is no reason to doubt (having Knox's authority for the fact), that the last name was that of John Erskine of Dun, and not John Lord Erskine. Knox, it will be observed, to these five names adds, *Et cetera*, and expressly states, that this Bond "was subscryved by the foir-writtin *and many others*."

Page 291.—"THE TWOPENNY FAITH."—Since the appearance of Vol. I., a copy of this tract, of only four pages, in black letter, was discovered, and having obtained the use of it through the late Rev. Geo. A. Griffin (see *supra*, p. 168), I gladly availed myself of the permission to reprint it, in facsimile, in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 313. I do not think it necessary, in this place, to mark the letters supplied at the edges of some of the lines which were injured or worn away, as this is faithfully done in the facsimile reprint. But the recovery of this interesting relic clears up the ridiculous mistake of Keith and others in supposing that "The Catechisme," &c., printed at St. Andrews, 1552, 4to, 220 leaves, was circulated for two pennies Scottish money, equivalent to the sixth part of one penny sterling.

ANE GODLIE EXHORTATIOUN maid and sett furth be the maist Reverende Father in God JOHANE ARCHIBISCHOPE OF SANCT-ANDROUS, Primate of Scotland, Legat, &c. With the avyse of the Provinciale Counsale, haldin at Edinburgh the secund day of Marche, the yeir of God ane thousand fyve hundreth fifty aucht yeiris, to all Vicaris, Curatis, and utheris consecrate Preistis, lauchfull Ministers of the Sacrament of the Altare, to be red and schawin be thame to the Christiane peple, quhen ony ar to resave the said Blyssit Sacrament, &c.

Cum Privilegio Reginali.

DEVOTE Christiane men and wemen, quha at this present tyme ar to resave the blyssit Sacrament of the altare. Wytt ye perfitlie, and beleve ye fermlie, that under the forme of breaid, quhilk I am now presentlie to minister to yow, is contenit trewlie, and realie, our Salveour Jesus Christe, heale in Godhede and manhede; that is, baith his bodie, and blude, and saule, conjunit with his Godhede; quha in his mortale lyve offerit hym self upon the Croce to the Father of Hevin ane acceptable Sacrifyce for our redemptioun, fra the Devyll, syn, eternall dede, and hell, and now in his immortall lyfe sittis at the rycht hand of the eternal Father in hevin, quhame in this blyssit Sacrament, invisiblie contenit under the forme of breade, I am to minister to yow.

And wit ye, that ressave this blyssit Sacrament worthelie, ye ressave the blyssit bodie and blude of our Salveoure Chryst for the fude of your saulis, to strenth yow aganis all mortall and deidlie synnis, and power of the Devill, to mak yow starke in your faith towartes your God, to get his grace largelie ekit to yow, to keip up your hope unto the mercye and glore of God, to kendle your hertis, and make yow ardent in to the lufe of God, and of your nychtbour, to cause yow have quick remembrance of the blyssit passioun of our Salviour and Redemptour, Jesus Christe, quhilk he tholit for yow. Quhairthrouch, with levyng faith, ye maye get and obtene remissioun of your synnis, and be reconciliat to the Father of Hevin, and als be delyverit fra eternale damnatioun, and brocht to eternale lyfe and glore. Attoure, wytt ye Christiane and faithfull Peple, that quha ressavis worthelie this blyssit Sacrament, ar unit and conjunit to the mistical bodie of our Salviour Jesus Christe; that is, to the Sanctis of Hevin, and to thame that hes the grace of God in the erd, and maid quick and levyng membris of the samyn misticale bodie. Heirfor I maist hertlie, for the maist tender lufe, reverence, and mercy of Christ Jesus our Salviour, exhort yow all Christiane peple, that ye ressave this precious Sacrament with perfyte faith, belevyng fermlie that Christ Jesus your Salviour tholit passioun, and deid upon the Croce for your synnis. In remembrance quhareof, with a perfyte conscience, ye aucht to ressave the samyn; and because this Sacrament is the Sacrament of lufe and concorde, se that nane of yow, with despyte in your herte, presume to cum to this blyssit Sacrament, bot as ye walde be forgevin of your synnes, and ressavit in unitie with God, swa aucht ye to forgeve uther. And because ye desyre to prepare your self to ressave sa precious a gift, raise your hertis to God, and als with grete dolour praye him in Jesus Christis name, and for the merit of his blyssit passioun, to mak yow worthy be his grace thairto. For and ye resave the samyn unworthelie, it wyll be to your damnatioun; and because cursing cuttis and devydis the cursit fra the haly congregatioun off the Kirk of God, and deidly syn makis man unabyll to ressave worthelie this blyssit Sacrament. Heirfor I praye yow, and als Ernestlye in Jesus Christis behalfe and name chargis, that nane off yow knawing hym self cursit, or in stait of deidly syn, or nocht confessit to his Curate, or uther Preiste, havyng power thairto, according to the law of God and haly Kirk, presume to cum to this haly and maist excellent Sacrament of our Salviour Jesus.

TO THE CLERGYE.

The Vicaris, Curates, and utheris Preistis that are employit in the ministratioun of the blyssit Sacrament of the altare, witt ye that the Provinciale Counsale straitlye chargis yow, that ye minister the blyssit

Sacrament mair godlie, mair honestlie, and with gretare reverence than ye war wount to do, thole nocht your Parrochianaris to cum to this blyssit Sacrament misordourlie; but put thame in ordour be your ministeris before the altare, and requyre thame to heir yow reid the afore wryttin exhortatioun without noysse or din, and to sit styll swa in devotioun, with devote hert and mynde, quhill thay be ordourlie servit of the saide blyssit Sacrament, &c.

FINIS.

¶ *Extractum ex libris Actorum et Statutorum dicti Provincialis Concilii: per me ejusdem Concilii Clericum et Notarium subscriptum.*

Andreas Elephantus manu sua,
de mandato, Subscripsit.

Page 106.—Mr. MICHAEL DURHAM.—In a letter from Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Dean of York and Canterbury, and Ambassador at the Court of France, dated at Paris, 1st March 1556-7, mention is made of Durham's arrival: "A Scottish physician married in London, named Durham, as I remember, who is a spy for the French King and the Dowager of Scotland, and hath a pension of her, three hundred crowns by the year, therefor." (Tytler's Hist., App. vol. vi. p. 378).

Page 301.—SIR JAMES SANDILANDS OF CALDER.—In the footnote, it is said he probably survived till the beginning of 1560. From his Confirmed Testament (recorded 24th November 1567) it appears that he died in December 1559.

Page 317.—Mr. JAMES HALYBURTON, Tutor of Petcur, was present at the siege of Broughty in 1547-8, as stated in vol. ii. p. 258, note 6. He filled the office of Provost of Dundee for the long period of thirty-three years. This we learn from the following inscription on the monument erected to his memory within the New Church, Dundee. It omits to notice that he held for some years the titular office of Commendator of the Priory of Pittenweem. I find that, upon the death of John Rewll, Prior in 1553, this benefice was conferred on Lord James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, of which Pittenweem was a dependency. In the view of obtaining possession of the Castle of Edinburgh, Lord James, then Earl of Murray, and Regent, resigned the Priory in favour of Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Balfour, at the end of August 1567, who held it *in commendam* till 1578-9, when "Mag. Jacobus Balfour de Pittendreich miles," in the Treasurer's accounts is styled "*olim* Commenda-

tarius de Pettinweme." A presentation "to the Pryorie of Pettenweem, vacant through the process and dome of forfaltour ordourlie led aganis Sir James Balfour, sumtyme of Pettendreych, knycht, Pryour and possessour of the said Pryorie and Abbacie," was granted to Maister James Halyburton, Provost of Dundee, 4th December 1579. In the same Register of Presentation to Benefices, on the 26th October 1583, we find the Priory and lands were conferred on the King's favourite, William Stewart, "Colonell or Capitane of his Hienes gard," the same being vacant "be deceis of umquhile Sir James Balfour, or be resignation of Mr. James Halyburton, last Priour and Commendatour thairof," 26th October 1583. At a later period (1616) the Priory and its possessions were erected into a temporal lordship, by the title of Lord Pittenweem in favour of Stewart, but the title became extinct in the person of his son.

PROVOST JAMES HALYBURTON'S MONUMENT, NEW CHURCH, WEST-SIDE PULPIT.

Hic situs est Jacobus Halyburtonus, Patruus nobilis Viri, Georgii Halyburton de Pitcur, Militis, qui Præfecturam Deidoni urbanam fauciter Annos 33 gessit. Obiit Anno Dom. 1588. Ætatis suæ 70.

ALECTI PRÆFECTUS	PATRIÆ VINDEX	PUPILLI TUTOR	ECCLESIÆ JESU ALUMNUS FUIT.

The inscription is translated by Monteith as follows :—

Here lies James Halyburton, Uncle to an honourable man, Sir George Halyburton of Pitcur, Knight; who for the space of thirty-three years happily administred the Office of Provestship within the Town of Dundee. He died in the year of our Lord 1588. Of his age 70.

Written on the transverse lines :—

Provest of Dundee; Defender of his Country; Protector of the Pupil and Orphan; and a Son of the Church of Christ Jesus.[1]

Page 276.—THE QUEEN REGENT.—Mr. Tytler, in the proofs and illustrations to his History of Scotland, vol. vi. number 7, has given various interesting particulars to illustrate the intrigues of the Queen Dowager Mary of Guise during her visit to France in the year 1550. These are derived from the correspondence of Sir John Mason, the English Ambassador at the Court of France.

On the 10th of May 1551, Sir John Mason says, "The Dowager of

[1] Monteith's Theater of Mortality. Edinb. 1713, p. 47-48.

Scotland maketh all at this Court wearie, from the high to the low, such an importunate beggar is she for herself. The King (Henry II.) would fain be rid of her, and she, as she pretendeth, would fain be gone." She remained, however, for some months, and on returning through England she had an interview with Edward VI., on the 4th of November 1551.

Page 317-320.—In the Spalding Miscellany, vol. iv. pp. 88-92, there is inserted a collection of papers connected with the Erskines of Dun, from the originals found at the house of Dun. Along with these, at p. 88, is given the copy of "ANE LETTER WRITTEN TO THE QUEEN'S GRACE AND REGENT, BE THE PROFESSOURIS OF CHRISTIS EVANGELL IN THE REALME OF SCOTLAND," dated the 6th of May 1559, and having in a later hand the name of JOHN ERSKYNE OF DUN, Superintendent of Mernis and Angus. It was probably written at the time that Erskine visited the Queen at Stirling, to endeavour to pacify her when several of the preachers had been summoned to appear on the 10th of that month.

Page 349.—The Provost of St. Andrews, who, with the Council in 1559, consented to the demolition of idolatrous objects in the churches of that city, was PATRICK LEARMONTH, son and heir of Sir James Learmonth of Balcomy and Dairsy (see note to p. 174), who had also been Provost for many years at an earlier period. According to "the Register Book of the Cite of Sanctandrows," Patrick Lermonth of Dersy was Provost in the years 1550 to 1554. Balcomy is in the parish of Crail, and Dairsie is a separate parish, also in Fife. The Castle of Dairsie, now in ruins, was a place of consequence, a Parliament having been held there in 1335. The property of Dairsie passed about the year 1616 into the hands of Archbishop Spottiswood, who erected a bridge of three arches across the Eden, and also rebuilt the parish church. Pitscottie refers to Patrick Learmonth, Laird of Dairsy and Provost of St. Andrews, having joined the Reformers, in 1559, with 500 men well armed. In the old Register of the Kirk-Session of the City and Parish of St. Andrews, 1559, there is preserved "The tennor of the Letters conteynand the names of all them that are adjoynet to the Congregatioun within this Cietie." It contains in all 304 names, the first being Patrick Lermonth of Darsy, Provost (see the names printed in the Maitland Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 211). The names of eighteen priests and nine laymen also occur as having given their adherence on the 3d of February 1559-60 (*Ib.* p. 214). He was knighted in 1562 (see *infra*, p. 688); and a charter of confirmation of parts of the lands of Raderny was granted under the Great Seal to Sir Patrick Learmonth of Dairsy and Isobell Balfour, his spouse, 14th December 1581.

Page 354.—In the signatures to "the Assurance," 13th June 1559, after many ingenious conjectures as to the proper reading of the French signature, which Knox's amanuensis says "he could nocht read," there is no doubt that it stands for H. CLEUTIN, better known as the SIEUR D'OYSELL. I have seen the same signature to some original papers. During his visit to Edinburgh, his name was enrolled in the list of burgesses, as we learn from the following extract from the Burgess Register, 10th January 1557-8 :—"Decimo Januarij Anno predicto [1557-8] : Quo die nobilis vir Henricus Cleutyn dñs Osellis sub illustrissimo et Christianissimo Galliarum Principe in hiis Scotie partibus locumteneñ effectus est burgensis et frater gilde, ex donatione Prepositi balliuorum et consilium hujus Burgi."

Page 357.—John, fourth Earl of Menteith, mentioned as killed in 1547, was one of the prisoners taken at the rout of Solway in 1542. He married the eldest daughter of George, first Lord Seytoun ; and his son, while under age, married, &c. (as in note 2.)

Page 362.—George, sixth Lord Seaton, was Provost of Edinburgh in 1557-8 ; see note 1, p. 431, where he is erroneously called the fifth Lord. His father, the fifth Lord Seaton, died the 17th of July 1545. He is mentioned by Knox at p. 97, as having been bribed by Cardinal Beaton in 1543.

Page 372.—MR. ROBERT RICHARDSON.—The "Presentatio Magistri Roberti Richartsoun Prioratu Insule beate Virginis Marie," etc., is dated penult. Mart. 1558 (Reg. Secr. Sig., vol. xxix. fol. 24). In the footnote he is stated to have died in 1571. This is a mistake : the office of High Treasurer became vacant, not, as Crawfurd says, by Richardson's death, but by his resignation.

In May 1572, Mr. Robert Richartsoun, Priour of Sanct Marie Ile, by a precept of my Lord Regentis graces precept, received his pension of £500 ; and this sum was paid him at each Whitsunday and Martinmas term, till May 1578, having probably died before the month of November following. In August 1579, there was paid the sum of £5000 "be the Kingis Majesteis precept to Robert Richartsoun, son to umquhile Mr. Robert Richartsoun, Commendatour of Sanct Marie Iyle, as for the releif of certain his Hienes jowellis laid in plege be umquhile James Erll of Murray, Regent to his Hienes for the tyme, to the said umquhile Mr. Robert Richartsoun, and now delyverit," &c. This Robert, and also a brother James, are called his sons natural in the Register of Signatures in the office of the Comptroller, 27th November 1573, and last October 1575.

Page 380.—A GENERAL BAND BETWIXT THE LORDS AND BARONS, &c., OF THE CONGREGATION AT EDINBURGH, 13th of July 1559.

This Band seems to have been overlooked by KNOX, but it is preserved in the earliest Register of the Kirk-Session of St. Andrews, when recording the names of the adherents in that city (*supra*, p. 680) :—

WE, QUHAIS names ar underwritten, pones ws in all thinges conforme to the generall band maid betuix the Lordis and Baronis of Congregatioun, at Edinburgh, the xiii day of Julii, anno, &c., 1559, to the Congregatioun and memberis to assist in mutuall support with the said Congregatioun with our Bodies, geir, and force, for maynteyning of the trew religioun of Christe, and downe putting of all superstitioun and idolatrie, conforme to the said Band, quherof the tennor followis, and is this :—WE, QUHAIS Names are underwritten, quhilkis hes subscrivit thir presentes with our handis, haifand respect to our dewties in setting fordwart the glorie of God, and knawand alswa that we are commandit to jeone ourselfis togiddir as memberis of ane Body for the furtherance of the samyn, dois, in the name of Christe Jesus, unite ourselfs, that we in ane mynde and ane spirite may endivour ws, with our haill power and diligence, to walk fordwart in the ways of the Lord, laboring to destroy and put downe all idolatrie, abhominationes, superstitiones, and quhatsumever thing dois exalte the self against the Majestie of our God, and maynteyn and set up the trew religioun of Christe, his word and sacramentes ; and alswa assist and defend the trew Ministers therof. And as we be sones of ane father, part takeris of ane spirite, and heyris of ane kingdome, swa sall we maist hartlie, faythfullie, and trewlie concur togidder, nocht onlie in the materis of religioun, bot sall lykewise, at our utter poweris, to the waring of our labouris, substance, and lyves, assist, defend, and maynteyne every ane, ane uthir, against quhatsumever that troubles, persewis, or invades ws, or ony ane of ws, in our lyves, landis, gudeis, heretageis, offices, benefices, pensiones, or vthir thinges quhatsumever presentlie in our possessiones, or quhilkis justlie we possesset at the begynning of thir present trowblis for the religioun, or ony uther causis pretendit upoun religioun, or persewit under pretence of the samyne. And for observing of the premisis, we bind and oblis our selfis, in the presence of our God, of his Sone Jesus Christe, calling for the haly Spirite to strenth ws to performe the samyn. At Edinburgh, the xiii of Julii, the yeir of God I^m. V^c. fifty-nyne yeris. Quhilk Band we approve in all pointtis, and adjoynis our selfis for mutuall defense to the haill adheraris thereto.

Page 384, and Appendix, page 562.—Bishop Lesley, in his History "De Rebus Gestis Scotorum," pp. 554-58, Romæ, 1578, 4to, has introduced the letters addressed by Francis II., King of France, and Mary Queen of Scots, to Lord James, Prior of St. Andrews, and also

the substance of the Prior's answer. He professes to have translated them word by word from the French into Latin. In the enlarged edition of Holinshed's Chronicle by Harrison (Scotland, p. 367), Lond. 1586, it is said, "which letters being by Lesleus turned out of French into Latine, are by me thus delyvered in English, with the answer of the Prior to the same." This system of translation will readily account for the variation in the different copies, including the versions given by Knox and Spottiswoode. The first letters are dated at Paris the 16th and 9th Kalends of August, that is, the 16th and 24th of July 1559. The Queen's letter (see vol. i. App. p. 562) has this subscription, "Your good cousine MARIE."

Page 437.—The date of the Second Letter of Admonition to the Queen Regent from the Lords of the Congregation, was, at Edinburgh, the 19th of October 1559, and that of the Queen's brief indignant reply, at Leith, two days later. The copies printed by Haynes in the Burghley Papers, pp. 211, 212, present some slight verbal differences, not necessary to be here specified.

Page 459, note 5, and vol. ii. p. 129, note 1, to be read as follows :— Sir John Maxwell of Terreglis (see p. 319, note 1) was the second son of Robert, fourth Lord Maxwell, who died 9th July 1546. Robert, the eldest son, who succeeded as fifth Lord Maxwell, having died 14th September 1552, his posthumous son, John, became sixth Lord; but during all this time Sir John was styled the Master of Maxwell, as presumptive heir to the title. He is usually, but erroneously, said to have assumed the title of Lord Herries, in virtue of his wife's right, as co-heiress of William, fourth Lord Herries, of Terreglis. He was created Lord Herries by Mary Queen of Scots in 1567.

Pages 465, 467.—The Sermon or Exposition on the verses of the 80th Psalm, begun by Knox in Edinburgh when the Lords of the Congregation fled to Stirling, "in the greatest of our trubles," was there concluded. It was evidently on this occasion that a paper, or Apology for this hasty flight, was written, to which Mr. Tytler refers in the following terms, on the mistaken supposition that it related to Knox's leaving Scotland in July 1556 : "In a collection of manuscript letters relative to Scottish history, in the possession of Mr. Dawson Turner, and which the kindness of that gentleman permitted me to look over, there is an anonymous paper, entitled 'The Apology of our Departure,' which appears to me to be the composition of the Reformer at this interesting crisis. It proves that Knox fled for his life." (History, vol. vi. p. 80, note †.) I was of course anxious to obtain a transcript of a paper so described, but on application was not successful.

Mr. Turner's manuscripts were sold by auction in London in June 1859, and in a very remarkable series of original letters, &c., relating to Scotland, in two volumes (No. 416), this Apology was specified as "relating to Queen Mary's Abdication in 1568." These volumes were bought, on speculation, at a very large price, by Mr. Thomas Thorpe; and being re-sold in separate lots, the date of this "Apology" was then assigned to 1566, and said to be in KNOX'S AUTOGRAPH. It fetched the sum of £21, but was returned by the purchaser, as erroneously described. I was previously indebted to Mr. Thorpe for an accurate transcript of this paper, when I felt quite satisfied that the dates assigned were each of them incorrect, and that the paper had no personal reference to Knox individually. Having afterwards examined the original, I could have no hesitation in stating that it had no pretensions to be in the handwriting of the Reformer—neither did it appear to me to be his composition. But this is a point which I may now leave each reader to judge for himself. In printing it, I thought it useless to retain some contractions; and if I were to suggest the probable writer of this interesting State Paper, it might be either WILLIAM MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON or JOHN ERSKINE OF DUN.

THE APOLOGIE OFF OUR DEPARTUR.

QUEN as the enemy Sathan by all his means socht to destroy and cast downe the sanctuarie dedicat to God: and quen he thocht be his instruments to destroy the preistis off that sanctuarie: behold ther unspeacable boldnes quen thei hawe doone this, nether ver thei aschamit heiroff quo exercisit ther tyrannie againis us. Now thei find fault with us that we culd hawe escapit ther bloodie handis: ye thei lament bytterly that thei culd not destroy us: Bot, alas! now yei burdine the consciencis off the simple and ignorant multitud, saying that we do fle, and durst not approwe our doctrine as deviles and seditious as thei dow clatter. First, indeid, iff it be evil for to flei, it is far wors to persew. For he quo dowis flei he hyddis him self les he be slaine: bot he quo dowis persew, he dois persewe to slay. In very deid the Scripturis off God commandis us to flei: bot quer commandis the Scriptur off God? the for to slay: and he quo desyris to slay braiks the law, and giffis the man ane greater occasion to fle then he had off befor. Iff, therfor, thei reprowe our fleiing, rather accuss them selfs off ther murdering, and Judge ye all quhilk off thir namis ar honester. Lett them leif off from persewing, I warrand we sall soone leif off from fleing. Bot thei desist not from ther malice, bot rather dois increas in bloodiness day be day. No good man wil flie from ane good man, bot good men wil fle from evil men. Knaw ye not, I pray yow, how David did flie from Saul: fie wes David ane fugitive? yis: and Saul wes ane murderer;

tak that for that. Bot perchanc it is long senc thei red over ther bookis, we man appardone them. Bot be ye not blindit with ther errours. Bot be ye not desauvit, for iff our flicht be manifest, thrys mair manifest is ther murdering heart aganis us. For iff thei had not desyrit us to flie, thei suld have conferrit with the book off ther conscienc, iff it haid beine honest to have murdered Goddis servands or not. Thei callit us unhappie for this caus, to wit, seiing we fled. Querfor wil thei not call Jacob unhappie in ther preachings, quo fled the cruelte off his brother Esaw. Lett them maik ane mens to Moses, quo, for the fear off Pharao, fled to Madian. Lett them maik ane mens to David, quo fled with certaine off his awne cumpanie from the fourtie off Sawl. Lett them mak ane mens to the soones off the Proffits, quo hid them besyd (Abdias) from the cruelte off that old witch Jezabill the quein. Bot it is long senc thir wer doone. Lett us sie iff we can convince them out off the Evangill; for the Disciples, for fear off the Jewisch, did hyd them selfs. Paul, to escap the hands off the gowerner in the contrie, he fleis be ane basket. Quen as the Scripture speiks off the men off God in such maner, what clok or excuss can thei hawe quo so bakbytis us att this tyme being absent from them, for iff thei sall say we ar feird, that sall mak aganis them selfis quo as wid men persewis us. Iff thei say that our flicht wes aganis Godis will, thei sall condemme them selfis as ether never reding or not understanding the Scripturs off God. And in the law off God ther wes appointid certaine placis off refug, in the quhilk thei quo wer socht to deid had ther refuge. Marover, Christ Jesus sais to the Apostls, quen thei persewit yow owt off ane cite flie to ane other, and schort aifter he sais, Quen ye sie the abominacione off that desolacione quhilk wes spokine be the proffit Daniel standing in ane haly place, quo reids lett them understand, than thei quo ar in Judea lett them flie to the montans, and the rest as felowis in the text. The Lord Jesus him self, he fled quen he wes socht be his ennimis. And the angill off the Lord commandit Joseph be nicht that he suld carie away the bab be nicht to Egipt. He subjoins the causs, for it will be that Herod will seik the lyff off the child. And quen Herod wes deid, the Pharisiis tok consel aganis him, and wald hawe slaine him, bot he escapit ther cruel handis. And quen had risene Lazarus from deid, it is wrettin that from that day thay tok consell to slay him, bot Jesus walkit not opinly heiraifter amangs the Jewis, and he goit to the region quhilk is neir to the wildernes. And quen our Sawior said, Befor Abraham wes I am,[1] the Jewis took stons that thei suld cast at him, bot quen the godly men quhilk bakbytis our fleing siis thir, thei sie and sie not, heir and heir not: wisch to God thei accusit our flicht only, bot in wery deid thei think no less then to accuss (iff thei durst speik out) the very doings off Christ Jesus him

[1] The word *ironia* is here written on the margin.

self for that sam very causs in happint us to fle now, for the quhilk happint our Master to fle befor us. We think no mor schame off it then our Maister did, quo wes perfit and wyss in all his doings. Therfor be this schort treatiss we wil lett yow to wit that we fled in Godis causs from yowr bloodie handis that we may aifterward rander to yow that sam treasur quhilk God gawe us, and quhilk yowr enemy has bewrayit in the mydlis off yow. Bot God sall aryss, and put his enemys to silenc, to quom be prais for ever.

AND ALL THE REST.

Page 507.—JOHN FOXE'S "ACTES AND MONUMENTS," OR, BOOK OF MARTYRS.

The original edition of this important work, published in 1564, is described at p. 505. At the time I had no opportunity of examining the second edition, which is not less rare, in a perfect state, than the first. The work was then greatly enlarged, being "newly recognized by the author," and forms two large volumes, printed at London by John Daye, in 1570. The third edition was also printed by Daye, in smaller type, in the year 1576. The author again republished his work, by John Daye, 1583, in two vols. folio. In these three editions there are occasional alterations or additions, but they are substantially the same. The editions republished subsequently to the author's death, were, the fifth, Lond. 1596-7, two vols.; the sixth, Lond. 1610, two vols.; the seventh, Lond. 1632, three vols.; the eighth, Lond. 1641, three vols.; the ninth, Lond. 1684, three vols., all in folio. The later editions, or abridgments, need not be specified.

The accounts of the Scottish Martyrs Foxe acknowledges to have received from Scotland, *Ex Scripto testimonio Scotorum*, but no indication is given, and no subsequent surmises made, as to the person from whom they were received.

Page 532.—It may be noticed, that *Magister Alexander Seytoun*, Ricardus Maitland de Lethingtoun, and Andreas Johnestoun de Elphingstoun, appear as witnesses to a deed of George Lord Seytoun, 29th October 1524.—(Haddington Protocol Book.) This shows that Seytoun had completed his academical course, and was then in Scotland.

Page 534.—Letter of the Superintendents and Ministers to Theodore Beza, respecting the Confession of the Helvetian Churches, in September 1566, is printed in the present volume (vol. vi. p. 544).

Page 537, 4th line from the foot, and again at the foot of p. 540, *for* 1558, *read* 1557, as the date of John Rough's martyrdom at Smithfield.—See vol. i. p. 187 ; vol. v. p. 535.

Page 566, line 12.—The Coronation of the young Prince, James the Sixth, took place at Stirling on the 24th of July 1567. Knox, as here stated, preached on that occasion, "and tooke a place of the Scripture furthe of the bookes of the Kinges, where Joas [Jehoash, or Joash, 2 Kings xi. 12] was crowned verye yonge, to treate."—(Throckmorton's Letter to Queen Elizabeth, July 31, 1567.)

VOLUME SECOND.

Page 73.—The Commission for a Treaty of Amity and Peace with England, dated at Paris, the 12th of May 1560, mentioned in the foot-note as printed in Rymer's Fœdera, is in favour of "Messieur Jehan de Monluc Evesque de Valence, et de Nicolas de Pelue Evesque d'Amiens, Jacques de la Brosse Seigneur du dite Lieu, Henry Cleutin Sieur d'Oysel, et Charles de la Rochefaucault Seigneur de Randan."

Page 180.—On the 4th of February 1565-6, Mr. Stephen Wilsoun obtained a presentation to the Vicarage of Kirkaldy, vacant by the death of the former Vicar, and this was confirmed of new to the said Mr. Stephen, 28th May 1576.—(Register of Presentations to Benefices.)

Page 180, note 3.—According to a monumental inscription in the ruined cathedral church of Elgin, the elder Mr. John Thorntoun died in 1564, and Mr. James Thorntoun, precentor of Murray, in 1577. Presentations to the Chantory of Murray, and to the Subdeanry of Ross, vacant by the death of Mr. James Thorntoun, are dated 8th January 1577-8.—(Register of Presentations to Benefices.)

Page 183.—I have already mentioned (*supra*, p. 338) an edition of the Book of Discipline, printed at London, 1641, 4to, which I had previously overlooked.

Page 258, note 6.—Some further particulars of Provost Halyburton of Dundee are given *supra*, pp. 677-8.

Pages 291, 292, and 459-461.—Knox and Calvin.—After Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland, in August 1561, when the service of the Mass was performed in her private chapel at Holyrood, Knox relates a Conference that took place in November following between some of the

courtiers and ministers respecting the toleration of such idolatrous worship. The subject was renewed in June 1564, as detailed at the close of Book Fourth of his History of the Reformation. The discovery of his letter to Calvin on the subject, has laid Knox open to the charge of duplicity in suppressing the fact of his previously having written such a letter. It is dated October 24th, 1561, and is printed, with a translation, in the present volume, at page 133. I cannot offer any satisfactory explanation of his apparent want of candour. It could not have escaped his recollection, but he might have had no copy of his letter to exhibit. He at least would gain nothing by his silence respecting what he might consider a private letter: his voluntary offer, within eight days, was to be authorized to address a formal letter to Calvin *in the name of all those who were present at the said Conference.* Excepting his own statements, we have no account of either Conference.

Page 311, note 2.—Instead of *Sir*, read *Mr.* James Wishart. At the end, the date, 25th September 1576, should have been the 28th of September 1585.—(See *supra*, No. V. p. 668).

Page 314.—On occasion of the marriage of Lord James Stewart and the daughter of William Earl Marischal, in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh, 8th of February 1561-2, the following persons received the honour of knighthood from Mary Queen of Scots:—

Schir Johne Ogilbie of Auchindoun, knycht; Coline Campbell of [Glenurchy], knycht; Schir Johne Vischart of Pittarro, knycht; Schir [Patrick] Learmonth of Dersy, knycht; Schir Alexander Dunbar of Cumnock, knycht; Schir David Murray of Balvaird, knycht; Schir William Kirkcaldie of Grange, knycht; Schir Johne Stewart of Traquair, knycht; Schir Johne Stewart of Minto, knycht; Schir Matho Campbell of Lundy, knycht.—(Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 70.)

This list of names varies from another which is quoted by Mr. Joseph Robertson, in his Preface to the Inventories of Mary Queen of Scots. (Bannatyne Club, 1863, p. lxxvii.)

Page 323, line 25.—Manuscript G (as in the printed edition, 1732) makes the passage to read as follows:—"For my Lord, my great-grandfather, gudeschir and father, have servit your Lordschip's predecessours, and some of thame have dyed under their standards." In the Glossary the editor explains the terms *grandschir*, as great-grandfather; *guitschir*, grandfather. This would carry the pedigree a generation further back than in the original manuscript.—See Preface to the present volume.

Page 624, Index.—Douglas, Sir William, *read* Douglas, Sir James.

VOLUME THIRD.

Page 255.—" Some of the leaders," &c., to read, " David Whitehead, and other six leaders," &c. Dated at Frankfort, September 20, 1559, as printed in vol. iv. pp. 62-66.

Page 282.—Under the name of Achitophel, I omitted to add in a footnote that it was John, " the proud" Duke of Northumberland, to whom this allusion was made. He was present when Knox delivered his last sermon before King Edward VI. and his Council at Westminster, about April or May 1554, in which he says he spoke so plainly, " even to the faces of such as of whom I meant." " Sobna," or " Shebna," was meant for Sir William Paulet Marquis of Winchester, as explained in the footnote to p. 283; but who the Treasurer was, described under the name of Judas, is uncertain.

VOLUME FOURTH.

Page 237.—MRS. ANNA LOK or LOCKE.

The family with which Knox's friend and correspondent, Mrs. Locke, was allied by marriage, appear to have been opulent merchants in London. John Locke was Sheriff of London in 1461; and with Jane, his wife, was enfeoffed with the mansion of Merton Place, co. Surrey, in 1499.

His son, Thomas Locke, of London, merchant and mercer, married Joan, sole daughter and heiress of ——— Wilcotts of Rotherham, co. York. Thomas Locke died in 1507, and was buried in the Mercers' Chapel, London.

His eldest son, John Locke, died in 1509, without issue. William Locke, mercer, his second son, afterwards knighted, was Sheriff of London in 1548, and died 24th of August 1550. He was four times married, leaving by his first and second wives a large family.

Henry Locke, mercer, London, was probably his eldest son. He was the husband of Mrs. Anna Locke, Knox's correspondent. His will, recorded in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, dated 28th of January 1570-71, and on which probate was granted the last of October that year, is in the following terms:—

" IN THE NAME OF GOD, Amen.—I, HENRY LOK, presenthe I thanke my God of perfecte memorie, thoughe sicke and weake in bodie, doe make this my last will and testament in manner and form following:— First, as I acknowledge myself a most myserable sinner, soe I most

humbly flie to the infinite mercie of my Lorde God and deare Father, moste instantlie craveinge of his eternall goodness the ternall forgiveness of all my synnes for his deare Son Jesus Christes sake, whome I acknowledge my onely Saviour, thorowe whose death, by constant faithe, I hope to enjoye eternall life thus—bequeatheing my soule to God, my bodye I commit to be buryed according to the direction of my good Wife. As touching my worldelie goods, whatsoever they be, I give and bequeathe them to my wife, ANNE LOKE. And I doe make my onelie executor unto this my last will, my good and well-beloved Brother, Michaell Lok.—And in witness," &c.

Not having been able to ascertain the maiden name of Mrs. Anna Locke, I must still leave it uncertain whether she ought in any way to be identified with Mrs. Anna Prouze of Exeter. John Field, in 1583 (see vol. iv. p. 114), mentions Mrs. Prouze, "who had lived in exile," as the widow of the celebrated Edward Deering, the Puritan divine, and as having been an old friend and correspondent of the Scottish Reformer. Henry Locke having died in 1571, it is quite possible his widow might have been married to Deering (see vol. iv. p. 92), who only survived to 1576, and that she afterwards may have resumed her maiden name, if this was Prouze. But it is fully as probable that Field was mistaken in the account which he has given of Mrs. Prouze.

In the will of Henry Locke no mention is made of any children; one or more of whom died at Geneva. It is therefore a matter of conjecture whether Henry Lok (*supra*, p. 7), who was in Scotland during the latter part of the sixteenth century, was his son or nephew. He is styled by Anthony Wood "a divine poet;" and was the author, in 1597, of a rare volume, "Ecclesiastes, otherwise called the Preacher; whereunto are annexed sundrie Sonnets of Christian Passions," &c. London, 1597. 4to. See Original Letters of Mr. John Colville (Bannatyne Club), 1858, p. 305.

Michaell Locke, mentioned in the preceding will, had at least three sons, Matthew, Christopher, and John Locke. Christopher had six sons and three daughters. His fourth son, John Locke, who married Agnes Kenn, was the father of the celebrated John Locke, the philosopher.—(See Article in Notes and Queries, 1st Series, vol. xii. p. 326; also 2d Series, vol. i. p. 141.)

Page 294.—In the Imperial Library at Paris, there is, along with other tracts on this subject, one of these works, entitled, "Response à quelque Apologie que les Heretiques, ces jours passés, ont mis en avant sont ce titre: 'Apologie ou deffense des bons Chrestiens contre les ennemis de l'Eglise Catholique.' Auteur Antoine de Monchi surnommé Demochares, docteur en theologie. 1560."—(Bibl. Imp. Catalogue, tome v. p. 656.)

VOLUME SIXTH.

Page 103.—In one of the MSS. of Calderwood's History, this letter to Mrs. Anna Locke begins,—" *We shall meet when Death shall not dissever.* Two letters I have received from you, dear Sister," &c. It is to be observed, that these MSS. often vary in giving only portions of such letters, but they have been carefully compared, and I imagine no passages, with this slight exception, have been overlooked.

Page 107, No. XLIX.—In like manner, this letter of Calderwood commences :—" The Eternall our God shall shortlie putt end to all our trubles.

" Least that sinister rumors sould trouble yow above measure, deare Sister, I cannot but certifie yow of our estate, als oft as convenient messingers occurre. The French," &c.

Page 115, note 1.—For James, *read* John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

Page 121, 4th line from the foot, " to the number of xiij and odd." —I was assured that the passage was so in the original letter ; but having an opportunity afterwards of collating it, I found the transcriber had omitted the important letter, namely, " of cxiij^{e} (*i.e.*, 1300) and odde," as the number of communicants. In dispensing the Sacrament, the practice seems to be varied at different periods. A Popish writer, towards the close of the sixteenth century, mentions, that it was the usual custom to observe its celebration in the Protestant churches a month.—(W. Reynolds's Answer to Robert Bruce's certain Sermons on the Sacrament, p. 156. Antwerp, 1593.)

Page 132.—Randolph, in writing to Sir William Cecil on the 12th of October 1561, alludes to Knox's letter, No. LXI., as follows :—

" Nowe that these Frenche men are departed, we shall sone gyve a gesse unto what yssue thynges wyll growe ; her [the Queen's] masse is terrible in all men's yees [eyes] ; the Erle of Cassels said unto my self that [he] wolde never here any moe. I knowe not yet what myschef yt may worke. Her uncle, the Marquis, speakethe great wordes : I se not in hym to worke any great matter ; I fynde that ther lackethe no good wyll ether in her or hym. Mr. Knox hathe wrytten unto your Honour hys mynde ; I am not all wayes of his opinion for his exacte severitie, and yet I fynde yt dothe moste good. She hathe myslyked the provoste and baylies of Edenbourge newe chosen, which lykethe me never a whytte ; what she myndethe farther yt cane not

be well favored as yet. The povertie of her subjectes greatlye advancethe whatsomever she intendethe. From France counsell, what face somever she bearethe here. Thyther goethe shortly St. Colme throughe England, as he thynkethe to sett a newe lesson."—(Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, pp. 95, 96. Glasgow, 1837. 4to.)

Page 334.—In the footnote relating to WILLIAM STEWART, in place of the words at the end, that his fate was somewhat uncertain, *read*, "his fate was very striking, and in some respects unaccountable." Without entering into minute details, it may be noticed that, soon after returning from one of his missions, as Ross Herald, to Denmark, he received, on the 20th of February 1567-8, a commission, constituting him Lyon King-at-Arms, in the room of Sir Robert Forman, deceased; and, two days later, he was inaugurated in St. Giles's Kirk, in presence of the Regent and Nobility. Yet, in the month of August following, Stewart was deprived of his office, and sent a prisoner to Dunbarton, on the charge of conspiring against the Regent. After twelve months' imprisonment, he was carried to St. Andrews, and the conspiracy being disproved, he was tried for witchcraft and sorcery, and sentenced to be burnt. The proceedings of his trial are not preserved, and there appears something vindictive in the Regent Murray's conduct towards him. His widow obtained a grant of the escheat of all his goods and property falling to the Crown, "throw being of the said umquhile William Stewart, sumtyme Lioun King of Armes, convict and justifiet to the dead for certane crymes of witchcraft, nigromancye, and utheris crymes committit be him."—(Reg. Secr. Conc., vol. xxxviii. fol. 76.)

This sad termination of Stewart's career will readily account for his Sonnet being withdrawn from the later editions of the Psalms.

Page 384.—Some copies of this edition have a different title-page: "The First and Second Booke of Discipline," &c. London: Printed in the yeare 1641.

Page 610, line 8.—Madame Claud should rather be Madame Marguerite.

Page 680, line 4 from foot, *to read* 3d of February 1559-60; besides others who "recanted" at a later date (*Ib.* pp. 214-221).

Page 682, line 4, add, 22d of November 1559; and line 6, "pones ws" should be "jwnes ws," that is, joins us.

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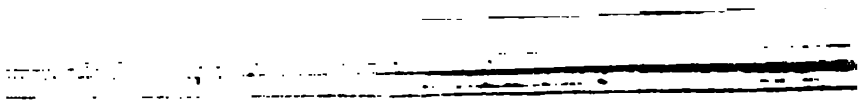

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